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Diplomatic Relations Reestablished With U.S.

AU1503195791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] A memorandum of understanding was signed in Washington today between the Government of the United States and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in connection with the reestablishment of diplomatic relations.

The memorandum was signed for the Albanian side by Foreign Minister Munamet Kapllani and for the U.S. side by Raymond Seitz, assistant secretary of state for European affairs.

High-level State Department officials, representatives of the Albanian-American community, and others attended the signing ceremony. A joint communique was also issued.

This communique states:

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, after talks conducted between their respective authorized representatives and after confirming their commitment to their application of the principles of equality, respect, and mutual advantage, have agreed to reestablish diplomatic relations at ambassador level as of 15 March 1991 and to subsequently exchange ambassadors.

'Memorandum of Understanding' Signed

AU1603210891 Tirana ATA in English 0859 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 16 (ATA)—The ceremony and signing of the "Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Government of the U.S.A. Regarding the Reestablishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the Two Countries" took place in one of the main halls of the U.S. State Department in Washington, in the Hall of Treaties on March 15.

For the Albanian party the document was signed by the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, whereas for the American party by the assistant secretary of state, Raymond Seitz. Attending this ceremony were representatives of the Senate and the U.S. Congress, top officials of the State Department, representatives of the press and different American mass media as well as a number of compatriots from the Albanian-American community living in the U.S.A. Attending were also the Senator Claiborne Pell; the chairman of the Foreign Commission of the U.S. Senate, Senator Larry Pressler; the Congressman Tom Lantos; the Assistant Secretary of State Curtis Kamman, etc. Present was also the charge d'affaires of the Albanian mission at the UNO [United Nations Organization], Genc Mlloja.

On this occasion, our foreign minister and the American assistant secretary of state exchanged greetings. The representative of the U.S. Government R. Seitz stressed among others that the reestablishment of diplomatic relations is an historic event which marks an important turn in the relations between the two countries. He dwelt on the stand of the U.S. former presidents Wilson and Roosevelt in defence of the Albanian question and then underlined that the government of the United States recognizes the territorial integrity and borders of Albania. Mr. Seitz said that the U.S.A. is attentively following the political and economic reforms going on in Albania and wished that they lead to the first pluralistic elections of 31 March. He voiced the confidence that the American-Albanian relations just renewed will go on well.

The Albanian minister described the event as remarkable for it is filling the gap which has been felt for over half a century between the two countries. The signing of this document, he said, has not only symbolic value, but it marks a turn in these relations which will create possibilities for an all-sided cooperation in the mutual interest of the two countries.

After the signing ceremony, the State Department gave a cocktail for those present.

In honour of the Albanian Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani, the Deputy Secretary of State Ivan Selin gave a dinner in the seat of the State Department. Present were the Assistant Secretary of the State Department Curtis Kamman; the head of department for Eastern Europe, James Swihart; the Ambassador Langan, and members of the American and Albanian delegations.

Kapllani Meets Under Secretary Kimmitt

AU1603210991 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 16 (ATA)—Talks were conducted at the State Department on March 15 between Muhamet Kapllani, minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the acting secretary of state of the U.S.A., Robert Kimmitt.

The two interlocutors appreciated the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between Albania and the U.S.A. as an event opening up a new chapter in the relations between the two countries and their perspective. Robert Kimmitt assessed the visit of the Albanian foreign minister to Washington and the readiness of the Albanian Government to reestablish these relations, and pointed out that the U.S. Government chose that this be realised before the March 31 elections. We, the U.S. high-ranking official continued, are attentively following the democratic developments in Albania and are interested that the initiated processes move ahead without excesses. He said that the Albanian Government and people are marching on the road of democracy and free market economy, transition which is not easy, but passes through difficulties, which the U.S.A. understands.

He stressed the readiness of the U.S. Government to concretely assist Albania both with rapid humanitarian aid in foodstuffs and medicaments, as well as with medium- and long-term programs, putting in motion the economic mechanisms.

On his part, Muhamet Kapllani briefed him on the process of democratization in Albania, which represents an alternative responding to the present and long-term interests of our people and country in the framework of the European and worldwide developments. He voiced the desire for an efficient and stable bilateral development in the economic, financial, trade, technical and scientific fields.

The talks were conducted in a constructive and friendly spirit.

Meets Senators, Treasury Officials

AU1703184591 Tirana ATA in English 0858 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 17 (ATA)—Over his visit in Washington, the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, had a meeting with the chairman of the Subcommittee for Europe and Middle East of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the U.S. Congress, Lee Hamilton. Present were the Congressman Tom Lantos and other members of this commission.

The Congressmen Lee Hamilton and Tom Lantos aired their satisfaction for the normalization of the relations between the two countries and evaluated the visit of the minister of foreign affairs of Albania in the U.S.A. They said that from now on new perspectives of development will open for the American-Albanian relations.

The participants in the meeting took interest in the democratic processes in Albania, the political reform, the economic one orientated towards the free market, foreign investments, the actual level of privatization of the Albanian economy, etc.

During the meeting opinions were exchanged on the election legislation, multiparty system and other aspects of this transitory period of the complete democratization of the life in Albania, the relations of our country with neighbours and other international questions.

On his part, the foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, spoke of the concrete aspects of the actual developments of the democratic process in Albania, the difficulties created and their efforts to overcome them as well as on the international cooperation. He dwelt in particular on the importance of the normalization of our relations with the U.S.A. and the possibilities created for the all-sided bilateral cooperation between Albania and the U.S.A.

Senator Claiborne Pell Meets With the Albanian Foreign Minister

The minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani was received by the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the U.S. Senate, Claiborne Pell.

During the meeting, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, Senator Pell evaluated the free pluralistic elections to be held in Albania on March 31, which have attracted the attention of the American and international opinion. He underlined the role of the Albanian-American community in the relations between the two countries and the need of their commitment as well as of the Albanian diaspora to contribute to the development of Albania. On this occasion he voiced his desire to pay a friendly visit to our country, which would make the relations between the two countries move ahead.

Our Minister of Foreign Affairs Meets With the Deputy Secretary of Treasury and the Deputy Secretary of Trade of the U.S.A.

On March 15, the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, saw in separate meetings the deputy secretary of [the] Treasury, John Robson, and the deputy secretary of trade, Roger Wollis.

In these meetings they extensively exchanged opinions on the possible economic, financial, trade, and technical cooperation between the two countries. The U.S. officials evaluated the potential possibilities of the Albanian economy such as its numerous mining and natural assets as a premise for the coming development of our country.

During the talks readiness was noticed to find out concrete possible fields for a fruitful and rapid cooperation between Albania and the U.S.A. The meetings were held in a friendly and constructive spirit.

Foreign Ministry on U.S. Relations, Refugees

AU1603202591 Tirana ATA in English 1859 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 16 (ATA)—On March 16 before noon, a press conference was held at the Foreign Ministry. Attending were representatives of ATA, radio and television, organs of our press, and foreign reporters. The spokesman of the Foreign Ministry, Sazan Bejo, briefed the reporters with various questions as the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and the United States of America, the departure en masse of Albanians from Albania, the preparations for the conduct of March 31 elections to the People's Assembly and answered the questions of the reporters.

The spokesman of the Foreign Ministry underscored that the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations with the U.S.A. is a result of nearly a year's negotiations through the diplomatic road between the two parties. He said that despite the hitherto state of interstate relations

between the two countries, the ties of the Albanian people with the American one are ancient. An important role in this direction has played by the Albanian colony in the United States. Now great perspectives of cooperation and friendship are opened to our two peoples.

The reestablishment of the relations will lead to an intensive cooperation in all the fields, in the political, economic, social spheres, etc. between the two countries. It will give an impulse to the U.S. investments in our country, the creation of joint ventures, etc.

The spokesman also briefed the reporters on the efforts of the Albanian state concerning the close cooperation with the Italian party for solving the question of Albanian refugees who have left for Italy, and the return of those who want to and of children under 16 years of age. He said that negotiations are being conducted between the two governments for solving this question and in this regard, he also reported that a delegation of the Emigration Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs headed by Hasan Mucostepa left for Italy. He also reported on the visit the secretary general of the Italian Republican Party, Giorgio La Malfa, will pay to our country. The spokesman also spoke on the private visit of the deputy foreign minister of the Vatican, Claudio Celi, to our country.

The spokesman Sazan Bejo also reported on the creation soon of the press center in Tirana which will provide facilities of work and broadcast for the local and foreign press, particularly now during the first multiparty elections in our country. As he said, many reporters, representatives of agencies, press organs, TV networks from the countries of Europe, America, etc., will attend. He also underlined that about 20 groups of observers from different countries and international organizations from throughout the world will take part.

Possible Membership in Pentagonal Examined

AU1603194891 Tirana ATA in English 1039 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 16 (ATA)—A positive spirit of multilateral cooperation reigns throughout Europe. Possibilities and roads, common points are being found which would serve as corner stone of the future all European integration, the commentator Shkelqim Beqari writes in the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT". Two tendencies appear here: the first noticed throughout Europe in the context of the CSCE, the European Community or the extension of NATO borders beyond the former East-West line, and the second which pertains to groups of states forming "coalitions" in joint agreements in different fields.

What strikes one's eye in these regional groupings is the Pentagonal group, actually composed of Italy (the instigator of the group and its axes), Austria, Hungary, Czechosiovakia and Yugoslavia. The Pentagonal is not limited within its geographical borders, but it goes beyond them, for each member may exploit the bilateral relations it has with the neighbours to give an impulse to regional integration.

Proceeding from these very positive developments, the author writes, Albania too should not lag behind. It becomes more urgent in the conditions when the so desired Balkan cooperation has remained more within declamatory limits than in its economic and trade materialization. Our country has a basis so that to aim at becoming a member of the Pentagonal. It is a powerful basis recently created with our neighbour, Italy, which is practically showing it wants to take part in an all-sided plan for the development of Albania.

Our country would profit if it demands to become a member of this grouping because the Pentagonal is made up of developed countries like Italy and Austria, which through their predisposition towards our country, through their experience, aid, and very high contemporary technology, would contribute to Albania's ranking among European countries in all aspects and especially to the elevation of the people's well-being.

'All' Political Prisoners Reportedly Released

LD1703172191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1623 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Ohrid, March 17 (TANJUG)—All 175 political prisoners in Albania's prisons and reform camps have been set free, Albanian state radio said Sunday in a broadcast monitored in the Yugoslav border city of Ohrid.

This act fully realizes the provisions of a decree by the presidium of the Albanian People's Assembly, the radio said, adding that "imprisonment for ideas and opinions will in the future become a thing of the past."

The radio reports that of the 25,000 Albanian refugees in Italy, 2,300 were returned, while the reminder are in refugee camps throughout Italy and under the care of the local authorities.

According to Albanian News Agency ATA, two weeks ahead of the first free multi-party elections in Albania, another party has been formed - Party of National Unity. A number of opposition parties and movements are active on the Albanian political scene, but only the Democratic party is believed to be a serious rival to the ruling Albanian Party of Labour.

Ship Brings 530 Refugees Home to Durres

AU1503202391 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] The ferryboat Espresso Grazia dropped anchor in the port of Durres at 2340 yesterday evening, bringing home 530 people from Italy who fled last week in different ships. These people include children and adults from Durres and other districts of the country who have

returned at their own request. Many people came to the port of Durres to welcome their children and relatives.

The district authorities had taken measures to provide ambulances with the necessary medical personnel and transportation to take these people to their homes. Their disembarkation was orderly, and there were no incidents or health problems. After being informed that they would suffer no consequences and that there would be no administrative or legal repercussions, the returnees were asked to return to work at their enterprises and were then transported by chartered buses and trains to their districts. Foreign journalists and cameramen were also present. The ferryboat returned to Italy.

The port of Durres is still a military zone, and work on loading and unloading ships is proceeding normally.

Boatload of 158 Refugees Arrives Home From Italy

AU1803093191 Paris AFP in English 0905 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Rome, March 18 (AFP) — A ship carrying 158 Albanian emigrants who had changed their minds and decided to go home, arrived back in Albania on Sunday [17 March], officials said.

About 2,000 would-be emigrants have now returned home since the wave of arrivals started in south-eastern Italy at the start of the month.

In the space of a few days, some 20,000 people fled by ship across the Adriatic sea to ports in Italy's Apulia region, most of them arriving in Brindisi. But some of the emigrants, deciding that their initial dreams of work and good fortune in the West had been illusions, have decided to return.

'Many' Gather in Durres Following Rumors of Ships

AU1603201891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Many people, mainly from the villages of Durres, Kruje, Elbasan, Lushnje, Fier, Berat, and others, gathered at various points in the city of Durres yesterday and today on the basis of rumors that ferries would arrive to accept Albanian refugees. As District Police Chief Ilir Cani told us, the forces of order are committed to maintaining order and public peace. There have been cases of confrontation between the forces of order and certain groups of people, but without creating incidents. The seaport is still defined as a military zone to prevent anybody from entering it illegally and also to prevent difficulties in the work of the docks and the transportation of freight.

Tirana Quiet Despite Rumors of Opening Embassies

AU1503202491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] The situation in Tirana was quiet and normal today. As we informed you, rumors have circulated in our country in the last few days about the opening of foreign embassies to receive Albanians wishing to leave the country. In the current volatile political situation on the threshold of the first democratic elections, and especially after the departure of almost 20,000 refugees for Italy by sea, the spread of such rumors has caused disquiet and a tense situation. The explanations given on the radio and television by state authorities and political parties and the interviews with diplomats and members of the UN delegation made a real contribution to calming the situation. Our reporters noted that the situation was normal, and, as representatives of the forces for the maintenance of order also told them, there were no incidents today.

PPSh Electoral Withdrawal Rumors Deplored

AU1503180891 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Mar 91 p 2

[Halil Lalaj article: "A Muttered Demand of Communists"]

[Text] One has recently heard in various circles—mainly small or intimate groups—the opinion that the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] should surrender power itself. In a few words, the argument runs as follows: The ruling party has now accomplished its tasks. Its theoretical and ideological platform has undergone profound changes, so the reformed party is totally different from what it was. Because this is the case, the reasoning goes, it should resign voluntarily, simply going into opposition, and another political force should take its place.

Opposition pressures are a natural thing. We have witnessed the losses suffered by communist forces in some countries. It is true that in some cases these forces have simply capitulated. In each case, there are common and individual characteristics for each country and time.

What will happen in Albania? The truth is that real politicians are not making themselves felt. They say nothing about the course of future events. They only talk about the scenarios of external and internal enemies. Nothing more. It is, in fact, well known that such scenarios have been put into action. The only thing their authors have not achieved is bloodshed. So far, this is a major victory; it shows that the ruling party does not want bloodshed. One cannot fail to welcome this moderation and wisdom on its part. Nevertheless, what will happen to the communists? Will they remain in power or not? Before one arrives at this question, which is to some extent a matter of guesswork, each of us must explain, at least to ourselves, whether there is any reason why the communists should voluntarily surrender power.

This is the essential question. One must have many reasons to surrender power voluntarily. They would be worth dealing with, if there were even a single serious reason; however, so far not one of them has appeared so serious to us. It is therefore appropriate to tackle the arguments on the other side, which are the real reasons for the PPSh's vitality. One could no doubt compile long summaries of these. They could be discussed better and at greater length than so far.

What is the PPSh? This is no place to go into history, but the PPSh has entered Albanian history and will remain as one of the most authoritative and progressive forces in the life of the country and the nation. Hotheadedness and perfervid passions may cause confusion, but this is purely temporary. This is not a time for books, but for life, and everybody can judge for himself, for good or ill. A cool head knows how to appreciate and to criticize.

In my view, the PPSh has recently been threatened by one of the most serious dangers in its history I would say that this danger is of much greater dimensions than the events of 1948 or the sixties. The changes in the East and the structures in the West upset the previous equilibrium. There are, therefore, two choices: either rely on earlier principles and paths of development as the sole ways of struggling for socialism, or undertake reforms that serve the cardinal principles of the life of the people—freedom and independence and, what is the fundamental goal of the communists' program, the prosperity of the masses. The paths followed for more than 40 years have exhausted themselves. Under new conditions, they have become hindrances. It is not easy to abandon them, both because of tradition and the ideological investment made in them. The danger of lingering in old terrain is a real threat. Abandoning this terrain cannot be viewed as anything other than a victory.

Did the party then err in choosing the second alternative? It would have erred if it had not kept pace with the times. This would not simply have been a mistake, but a matter for serious blame. It was the voice of reason and experience that dictated this step. It is not easy to understand and confront this essential renewal throughout the party, throughout all its strata, age groups, and different intellectual levels. Some applications for resignation from the party are, therefore, understandable (they have been especially encouraged by recent events). Equally natural has been the growth many times over of applications to join the PPSh.

One hears voices: The PPSh was forced to make these changes. What does "being forced" mean? It would be simplistic not to admit that circumstances provide conditions for every action. As early as the Ninth Congress [November 1986], concern was expressed at various kinds of economic imbalance, and excessive centralization was criticized. Step by step, we came to the party's present program. This program was not dictated by the Democratic Party [PDSh], the Republican Party [PRSh] , or the latest party, the Agrarian. This is not only because this program was published before theirs, because this is only a formal matter, but because its preparation began a long time ago in a range of documents that paved the way for today's political pluralism. This program will become more valuable, not only in the developments that will take place at the next congress, put through a reappraisal of previous work. This makes it more essential to renew paths and methods, pruning everything that has atrophied.

I do not know whether what I have written is enough to show that there is no reason why the communists should withdraw from the political and electoral struggle. I think others could add other arguments. If this is so, there is no basis for dissatisfaction of any kind over the PPSh.

It seems to me that all these things are dominated by a simple and practical approach, and a cool logic that puts everything in its proper place. Let us say for a moment (the reader will pardon me) that the PPSh has aged, is worn out, cannot adapt to the new era, etc. What political force will then take the country's reins? How content would we be if we had won political pluralism at least four years ago? Then the people would have been able to judge. Many things are at a crossroads today and in economic and moral crisis. These things may be subjected to painful kinds of manipulation, as is happening. You may judge the parties today from their programs, the people in them, and the concrete steps they take. The second party, the PDSh, is showing how little it serves genuine democracy. This is obvious in everything. The Republicans are more placid, but are now being compromised by their press, which alongside RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE is recklessly turning to what the world calls biased reporting. The PDSh's program raises various bogus mirages for electoral purposes. The people in the party and the crowds that follow them have not earned the slightest real credibility. In other words, the only tempting thing about the PDSh is its name. It is more than anything else an anticommunist amalgam based on a pragmatic philosophy. In its still uncrystallized form, it is swayed by many currents. Just think how terrible it would be if the PPSh withdrew from the political struggle for power under such conditions. What name would we give this? I will not dirty my mouth with the word. Let us therefore leave it to the people to decide, and not whisper rumors into their ears.

PPSh, PRSh Electoral Campaigns Reported

AU1603194791 Tirana ATA in English 1024 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 16 (ATA)—The Party of Labour of Albania (PLA) [Albanian Workers Party—PPSh] organised a press conference in Tirana.

Xhelil Gjoni, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the PLA spoke on the commitment of the PLA in the democratization and its all-round renovation. He dwelt particularly on aspects of the democratization of our life and society, the

renovation of the party in the conditions of the new developments of the political life of the country.

In the framework of the preparations of the next party congress, he pointed out that the party is also working on questions which have to do with its organisational structure and construction, aiming at realising a whole reorganisation at all links and levels.

Then the secretary of the Committee of the Party of Labour for Tirana, Ismail Lleshi, declared the district PLA candidates running for deputies to the People's Assembly.

The Committee of the Berat District Party of Labour organised an activists' meeting on the elaboration of the election program of the PLA.

The secretary of the CC of the PLA, Abdyl Backa, underlines that in the new conditions of political multiparty system and of the economic situation the country is in, the election party program and its targets express ever better and more democratically the interests of the people for the country's development.

The Republican Party [PRSh] of Tirana District organised a meeting where it dwelt with the economic problems of the election program of this party.

The member of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Republican Party and editor-in-chief of the newspaper "REPUBLIKA," Vangjush Gambeta, stressed among others that the most important thing is to fight for the creation of confidence that Albania has all the conditions to forge ahead, to come out of the crisis and usher at faster rates in Europe.

The branch of the Republican Party for the district of Vlore organised its first conference. The participants were told of the present patriotic traditions of the people of this district for freedom and independence.

Then the conference dwelt on the election program of this party, laying the stress on the objectives in the economic field.

The member of the Initiating Commission of the Republican Party, Hysen Cobani, said among others that this party is a democratic alternative to forge Albania towards Europe.

PRSh Forms Branch in Mat; Rally Held

AU1503152791 Tirana ATA in English 1041 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On occasion of the creation of the Republican Party [PRSh] branch for Mat District, a meeting was organised. It emphasized that the establishment of political pluralism was a major victory for our people and that the Republican Party, as a political force, stands for the strengthening of national unity.

The participants were greeted by the member of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Republican Party, Vangjush Gambeta. He laid particularly the emphasis on the targets of this party in the economic field, that of defending human rights, foreign policy, the stand towards Kosovo, etc.

SDS, BSP Legislators on Crisis Talks

AU1503113791 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Kalina Stancheva report from Sofia on 15 March—live]

As you have already been informed, the atmosphere and situation in the legislature is such as to require the presence here, today as well, of President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Dimitur Popov.

Instead of assembling in the plenary meeting hall, the legislative groups spent the morning in confidential talks in the East and West Halls of the legislature.

In answer to my question on what had been happened, and what decisions had been made at the meeting of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], their spokesman Aleksandur Yordanov replied as follows: The Legislature Bureau renewed its efforts again this morning to find the wording that would save the legislature, following submissions by members BSP's [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Georgiev and SDS's Petur Kornazhev that the votes taken yesterday should be annulled. The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly proposed a draft proposal on taking a new vote; the draft was accepted by the SDS group with a few amendments, said Yordanov. He added: In our view, it is logical not to hold any plenary session today, but to continue on Tuesday [19 March]. We are waiting for the president to take an initiative.

Mr. Zhelev avoided the attempts of certain journalists to seek comments or information, although he was present at the meeting of the SDS legislative group. According to information from Yordanov, it is likely that the President's Consultative Council will be convened tomorrow. It is improbable that only the issue of the Credentials Committee's report will be in the center of the agenda; the meeting will probably consider and make a decision on the future of the reform of legislative democracy. It is not excluded that a date will be set for the next elections. I am quoting here a brief statement issued by the spokesman of the SDS legislative group.

Filip Dimitrov, leader of the SDS Coordinating Council, was extremely laconic. If this answer is of any use to you he said, here it is: There is great progress in reaching a decision, but no final decision has been made.

Some of the people's deputies of the BSP are seated on the legislative benches at the moment, and we are waiting for the members of the Legislative Bureau to enter. It is as yet unclear whether the legislative session will be held today or on Tuesday.

The following information comes from the BSP legislative group. According to their spokesman, Klara Marinova, the voting last night was taken with a regular quorum of members present, and we confirmed this viewpoint today as well. In our view, it is unnecessary to take a new vote on the legality of the wording of the second amended version of item one in the resolution of the Grand National Assembly on the report of the Credentials Commission. The BSP wants the legislature to meet today. We are clear, I presume, said Ms. Marinova, that we want this because we do not want to delay the legislature's work by an entire day.

Talks Fail To Yield Results

AU1603143291 Sofia BTA in English 2326 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—The legislature did not hold its session today. Even after the consultations between the political forces it is anybody's guess how the Socialists and the legislative opposition will end their conflict over the Credentials Commission's report and whether it will lead to the dissolution of parliament. Observers are talking of a legislative crisis, while politicians are making more guarded evaluations.

This morning the legislative faction of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] gathered to work out its stand on the scandal which flared up yesterday. According to UDF sources, who preferred to remain anonymous, the main disputes focused on the union's strategy and mostly on the timing of the next parliamentary elections. As to the "Ganev case," the UDF is unanimous that it should not allow the cassation of his parliamentary mandate. There are three views on the elections: that they should be held by mid-June, in the autumn, or even later. President Zhelev talked with the UDF MP's.

Later on the major political forces held consultations with the chairman of parliament Mr. Nikolay Todorov. They were also attended by Vice President Semerdzhiev. Afterwards he told the BTA that he was in the legislature almost by chance. Mr. Semerdzhiev declined to answer the question if there was a legislative crisis. "The Grand National Assembly is seeking a way out of the difficulties that have arisen," he said.

The legislature heard a joint statement on the consultations which stressed that the legitimacy of the elections held last June had not been questioned and that a mutually acceptable resolution on the Credentials Commission's report is being sought. None of the participants would give more details on the consultations. "The situation is so complicated that a single word could make it explode," Mr. Nikolay Pavlov of the UDF said.

The next legislative session is scheduled for Monday. The president's spokesman told a news conference today that the Political Consultative Council with the President's Office will meet tomorrow.

Dimitrov Discusses Party Tactics; Human Rights

AU1603164191 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Silvia Stafanova; place and date not given: "What Is New About the Socialists' Strategy?]

[Excerpts] [Stefanova] Mr. Dimitrov, can you say that something sensational has happened in Bulgarian political life in recent days?

[Dimitrov] Sensational is hardly the correct expression. The last few days were marked by two events related to legislative life —the report of the Credentials Commission and the moratorium on the introduction of Turkish language courses in public schools. The fact that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] majority in the Credentials Commission did not hesitate to propose the annulment of Stoyan Ganev's election evokes great consternation, considering that such a proposal is absolutely illegal. [passage omitted]

As far as the moratorium on the optional attendance of Turkish language courses in public schools is concerned, we all know that this is a constitutional right and the cause of many unpleasant questions to which Bulgaria is subject at international meetings. In this respect the behavior of the BSP is very interesting. The BSP declares its support for the constitutional right—it could not possibly say anything else. It became evident that all political forces, with the exception of the Fatherland Party of Labor, share the view that it is in the country's interest to "open up" the individual ethnic groups. Presumably some people exist who are convinced that one serves the state by building a wall of separation between the ethnic groups. This approach, precisely, creates prerequisites for tensions and clashes. [passage omitted] As I already stated, the BSP was the first to support the idea of an optional study of the Turkish language in public schools, after which Minister Mateev quite surprisingly proposed the version of experimental training. [passage omitted] In any case, the Union of Democratic Forces' stand is unmistakable and well known. It was explained in the legislature where the BSP majority imposed the moratorium. This will presumably be interpreted as a patriotic gesture, but I am asking myself: What will the BSP do in September, considering that the moratorium creates the impression about some possible transgressions in the interpretation of the constitutional rules? The encouragement of such hopes means a readiness for resistance against the constitutional rights, which is likely to cause new tensions.

[Stefanova] You just met and talked to German Bundestag members: Do you presume that the moratorium on the introduction of Turkish language lessons could have an influence on the assistance from abroad that Bulgaria is expecting, and that it may turn into an indirect, but very effective attempt at jeopardizing the economic reform?

[Dimitrov] I was indeed unmistakably informed—in diplomatic language of course, as it is appropriate in such cases—that similar actions are likely to place our friends in an awkward situation. The reports of the Human Rights Commission play a major role in deciding which country should be accorded assistance and to what extent. I would recommend to all people who are trying to work for Bulgaria's salvation to realize this fact. We once more risk falling back into the state of a country that is treated with reservation because it fails to comply with international agreements on human rights issues.

Meciar Has No Intention of Resigning

LD1503231191 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has no intention of resigning. These were his first words at Bratislava airport after his return from a visit to Italy and the USSR. He said this in reaction to events in Slovakia during the past week. In an interview with a special CTK reporter aboard the plane, Vladimir Meciar stressed that he was surprised by the views in Slovakia saying elements of fascism are present. These elements are not new, but they have no meaning in Slovak politics and no support either.

Is the situation in Slovakia indeed so dramatic that I should not be allowed to travel abroad? Or is someone just dramatizing it? Vladimir Meciar continued. He stated that the information on prepared events this week is satisfactory. If I fix something at home, I will defend myself and my seat. I do not need that. I traveled abroad to defend labor opportunities for others. We need that, Vladimir Meciar stressed.

He believes the time is ripe—Slovak nationalism aside—to start talking rationally about Czech chauvinism. Czech politicians essentially cannot prevent political disintegration in Bohemia, above all, in relation to Moravia. They cannot and are not willing to understand elements in developments in Slovakia, Vladimir Meciar said.

Meciar Reiterates Interest in Common State

LD1703222391 Prague CTK in English 2115 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 17 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar reiterated tonight Slovakia's interest in living in a common state with the Czechs. In a television statement, Meciar said he was convinced the answer in a referendum on the country's future would be "yes" to the common state, but the poll would not reveal what the federation should look like and therefore more thorough preparations are necessary. He said ultimata are no path to an agreement, adding that he expected more understanding in the Czech parliament and government. Referring to Thursday's attacks on President Vaclav Havel during his visit to Slovakia, Meciar said such attacks were inadmissible and must be handled according to law. Referring to the situation within the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, which yesterday said he no longer represented it in the government, Meciar stated that he has known for a long time that there was a drive for his dismissal from the post of prime minister but said it was up to the Slovak National Council (parliament) to decide. He rejected allegations that Slovakia was heading for a leftist coup.

Speaking of internal problems of the VPN in an exclusive interview for the Slovak radio, Meciar said of yesterday's resolution from the VPN Slovak Council meeting that it reflected the inability of the leadership to cooperate with people who have different opinions, and attempts to misuse the state for solving problems within the movement and to suppress internal democracy. He said the right to an opinion, be it a minority opinion, must be preserved in every democratic society, and added that the existence of two streams of opinion within the VPN should be recognized.

Cabinet Warns Against Nation's 'Disintegration'

LD1603195291 Prague CTK in English 1848 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 16 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Cabinet issued a statement today, fully identifying itself with the Slovak nation's aspirations for sovereignty but warning that the disintegration of the country would have a grave impact on the living standards both in Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

In the statement, following its session at Kolodeje east of Prague, the government said national programs have a chance of success only if they are in harmony with the economic interests of citizens and if they are supported by a change in the quality of life comparable to the advanced countries. The disintegration of the state would not only upset all traditions of common coexistence but would have a grave impact on living standards of the people both in Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

The statement said that artificially created boundaries between federal and republic bodies are inadmissible. Picturing federal officials as enemies is too much reminiscent of the experience of the past years when "enemies" were created to hide the regime's own errors.

The statement said the coexistence of the two nations is overcoming the dangerous stage. "In similar conflicts citizens are often more prepared for a consensus than their representatives and it is this simple civic common sense on which we must rely for the sake of all of us," said the statement.

When discussing a proposal by a group of deputies for a law terminating the mandate of a Federal Assembly (parliament) deputy, registered in the files of the former "StB" secret police, the Cabinet stated that the proposal runs counter to the charter of basic laws and liberties, to the principles of the election law and to the international convention on human and political rights. For this reason, it recommended seeking another solution, for instance through a resolution of the Federal Assembly Presidium.

The Cabinet recommended to the president to ratify the agreement on founding a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, signed in Paris last May 29, with rights reserved to tax incomes of Czechoslovak nationals. It appointed Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus governor of the bank and president of the state bank of Czechoslovakia Josef Tosovsky his deputy.

The government then went into a working session to discuss the present economic situation in the country.

Demonstrations Throughout Country Favor Unity

LD1503230191 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Excerpts] There were demonstrations in various places in Czechoslovakia in favor of the unity of Czechoslovakia and for the defense of democracy and the Republic.

The participants in the demonstration at Staromestske Square in Prague expressed their view against the separatist trends and breaking of our common state. They agreed on the need to call a referendum and on the idea of the federal [spolkovy] state.

The rally held under the symbol of Czechoslovak statehood at Vajansky Square in Bratislava alluded also to the objectivity of information in mass media, above all in television. Some speakers criticized the unprofessionality of Slovak journalists and demanded that they be subjected to screening. [passage omitted]

The participants in the Hradec Kralove demonstration favored preserving the unity of Czechoslovakia.

About 2,000 people in the Pardubice demonstration condemned attempts to break up our united state and the strange game of some Slovak groups and politicians, above all that of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

The participants in today's demonstration in Prerov demanded that a referendum be held in both republics.

Nonaligned Activists Foresee Attempted 'Coup'

LD1503190991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Interview with Bohdan Dvorak, chairman of the Club of Nonaligned Activists, by Vladimir Kroc in Prague on 15 March—recorded]

[Text] The Club of Nonaligned Activists this afternoon convened a rally in the Old Town Square in Prague to support the federative setup of the Czech and Slovak Republic.

[Kroc] Bohdan Dvorak, chairman of the Club of Nonaligned Activists, said in his opening speech that what is currently taking place in Slovakia is a straightforward attempt at a communist coup. What are the grounds for this conviction of yours?

[Dvorak] An attempt to suspend economic reform, or at least to hamper it, can be clearly seen behind everything that is taking place in Slovakia. Representatives of this stream are first and foremost members of Slovak Obroda, who unanimously joined in. In practical terms, in comparison with Bohemia, the situation in Slovakia is a little different, because after 1968 the persecutions in Slovakia were not so drastic as in Bohemia. This means that a number of leading officials' posts remained in communist hands even after November 1989. The (Nezec) affair, which is an obvious testimony to the fact that this is mainly an economic matter and a matter of putting a brake on the reform, shows clearly its source. The affair concerning Mr. Orlov, the Soviet Union's consul in Bratislava, who went around to individual meetings of Public Against Violence and who was making clear noises that the Soviet Union would not object to Slovakia becoming independent, also shows what kind of interests are at issue.

[Kroc] What, then was the purpose of today's rally on the Old Town Square?

[Dvorak] To demonstrate the unity of all democratic forces throughout the political spectrum in the Czech Republic. Representatives from the left center, Mr. Deputy Kucera, as well as Czech National Council and Federal Assembly deputies, were here. We would like to show that the situation in Bohemia is far from that in Slovakia. If democracy is really in jeopardy, we set aside our differing views, the consequences of which could lead to the dissolution of Civic Forum, for example. But at a time of mortal danger, these forces are still able to unite and clearly formulate their stand.

[Announcer] According to reports from organizers, similar rallies were held simulaneously in Zlin, Ostrava, Pardubice, and Hradec kracove.

Reactions to Claims of Coup Plans

AU1503202091

[Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers on 13 and 14 March publish a number of reactions to the statement made by Milan Zitny, editor in chief of the Slovak students' weekly ECHO, in the "Events and Commentaries" program on Federal Television on 12 March. In this statement, Zitny claimed that reform communists from the "Obroda" Club are getting ready to seize power in Slovakia. He also established a connection between the reform communists' coup plans and the current separatist demonstrations in Bratislava and Slovak Prime Minister Meciar's "hectic activity."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 14 March on page 13 publishes the 800-word full text of Zitny's statement. The statement includes a passage in which Zitny provides the names of people whom he regards as key figures in the "plans of reform communists, plans that I would not hesitate to label as a communist putsch according to the example of February 1948." This passage reads: "The politically strongest and most conservative stream that unconditionally supports Meciar are reform communists from the Obroda [Revival] Club, headed by Obroda's chief Mr. Laluha. It includes well-known names such as Milan Cic, [former Slovak prime minister and current deputy to the Federal Assembly] Viliam Ciklamini, [former deputy federal minister of interior], [Slovak Deputy Interior Minister]

Mr. Svechota, and Igor Cibula, domestic policy commentator of NARODNA OBRODA, who is Mr. Meciar's right hand and a former organization of the State Security Corps. By its conspiratorial network, Obroda was very well prepared for the [1989] revolution and, after its outbreak, it quite overtly infiltrated the Public Against Violence [VPN] as part of that movement. It filled the most important posts while inconspicuously but consistently pursuing its political goals."

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 13 March on page 4 carries a 600-word interview with Ivan Laluha, deputy to the Federal Assembly for the VPN and chairman of the Obroda Club in Slovakia, by a "ga"-signed SMENA reporter, in which Laluha responds to Zitny's accusations. Laluha attributes the "campaign launched against Obroda" to the fact that "we decided to back Vladimir Meciar's policy and support the founding of VPN For a Democratic Slovakia clubs." He deplores what he describes as a "witch hunt" against Obroda and compares it with the campaign waged against people who are now Obroda members after 1968 when they were described as right-wing opportunists and accused of seeking the restoration of capitalism.

On 14 March, on page 2, under the headline "Attempt at Discreditation," NARODNA OBRODA publishes 100-word statements by Slovak Deputy Interior Minister Jaroslav Svechota and Milan Cic, deputy to the Federal Assembly and chairman of the People's Chamber Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee. Svechota regards Zitny's claims as "part of the hostile campaign against V. Meciar and A. Dubcek" and announces a libel suit against Zitny because he "provided untrue information about my person" and "damaged my civic reputation." Cic dismisses Zitny's remarks as "fabrication, misinformation, and effort at discreditation." On the same day, on page 3, NARODNA OBRODA carries a 150-word statement by Igor Cibula, in which he asks Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos to "take a stand" on Zitny's claim that he, Cibula, used to work for the secret police. Cibula says that the statement damages his civic and professional reputation and is aimed at compromising Prime Minister Meciar and "Slovak journalism."

On the same day, NARODNA OBRODA also publishes two commentaries on Zitny's television speech—a 350-word Tibor Michal commentary, entitled "Incomprehensible or Comprehensible?," on page 2 and a 600-word Jan Fuele commentary, entitled "The Duel Continues Via the Television Screen," on page 3.

Michal wonders in his commentary how it is possible that Zitny's "unfounded assertions, half-truths, low blows, and shocking deliberate pieces of misinformation" were given space on Federal Television in a program "the minutes of which are virtually inaccessible for a normal mortal." He then himself provides the answer to this question, suggesting that Zitny's appearance must have been mediated by an opponent of Slovak Prime Minister Meciar from among President Havel's advisers. As Michal points out, an unspecified "adviser" of President Havel is a "very close relative of a staff member of the periodical, the chief editor of which is Milan Zitny." In Michal's opinion, this fact could provide a clue as to "whom Zitny represented on the television screen and who had invited him there."

Jan Fuele's commentary views Zitny's statement as a "continuation via the television screen" of the struggle between the two warring VPN factions. Like Michal, Fuele asks "who arranged it" that the chief editor of a periodical "that, in terms of its circulation, has minimal influence on our political life" was given space on Federal Television at prime time. In this context he mentions that Zitny's ECHO is published in the ARCHA publishing house, which was founded by the Charter 77 Foundation and clearly favors Fedor Gal's VPN faction. Fuele therefore suspects that it was "Fedor Gal and his closest collaborators" who are behind Zitny's appearance on television and he accuses them of "beginning to use methods that call in question their efforts at the use of cleaner means of political struggle."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 14 March on page 13 publishes statements, totaling 1,400 words, that were made by several "leading representatives of Slovak political parties and movements" on Slovak Radio on 13 March, in response to Zitny's television address.

Jan Petrik, central secretary of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), says that "catastrophic scenarios" such as the one presented by Zitny "disrupt the political situation in Slovakia." He believes that the aim of such statements is to "create a situation in which no one trusts anyone." Petrik also assesses the speech as a "highly irresponsible start of the campaign for a referendum" on the future of Czech-Slovak coexistence (the holding of which at this time the KDH opposes). Petrik objects, in particular, to one passage in Zitny's statement in which he spoke about "the intensive distribution of leaflets about a Zionist plot" in Slovakia. Petrik says: "It is sad that Prague always manages to find a Slovak who lends himself to such a statement. Foreign television and radio stations will pick this up and will again scandalize Slovakia because all this sounds very credible when said by a Slovak."

Juraj Flamik, chairman of the VPN Coordinating Center, says that Zitny's statement "came as a surprise" to him. Although Flamik stresses that he does not like talk about "the plotting of conspiracies behind the scenes," he believes that Zitny's charges ought to be verified by the Ministries of Interior and the Federal Assembly's screening commission. As to his own assessment of Zitny's claims, Flamik says that he is "unable to say whether the facts Zitny cited are true."

Anton Hrnko, deputy for the Slovak National Party, criticizes Zitny for "destabilizing the situation" in Slovakia. He also considers the statement to be an attack on Alexander Dubcek. In this context he says: "As this

attack is directed against one of the greatest authorities of the Slovak nation in the world, it is quite clear, in my opinion, who is interested in destabilizing the situation."

Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, sees Zitny's claims about the organization of a leftist putsch in Slovakia as part of a "campaign of misinformation" aimed at "discrediting a part of the legally elected Slovak political representation" and as an "evident attempt at depriving left-wing political forces of their legitimacy." Weiss also qualifies this "campaign, which is very similar to those that used to be conducted against Charter 77 signatories," as "an evident attempt at finding an enemy whom it would be possible to blame for the serious difficulties in which the policy of the Castle and of the Federal Government, and not only their policy toward Slovakia, has found itself."

Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, reacts in his statement to Zitny's warning against the declaration of Slovak independence by Slovak separatists. He says: "A Slovak state can be declared neither by a political party nor by a single rally but solely by the highest legislative body, the Slovak National Council. This is why I consider all this talk to be a canard designed to increase the already existing tension and foment the situation. From the legislative and legal point of view, such a thing is impossible."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 14 March on page 2 carries a 400-word Jan Fuele report on a news conference with Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner, at which he "refuted" Zitny's claim that former communists and secret police agents occupy key positions in the Bratislava police. Fuele quotes Obroda Chairman Ivan Laluha as having told the same news conference that Messrs. Cic, Ciklamini, Cibula, and Svechota have never been Obroda members. Laluha also asserts that Alexander Dubcek and he himself are the only members of the Obroda Club in Slovakia to hold "posts in legislative and executive bodies."

Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 14 March on page 2 carries a 200-word statement by Jozef Baksay, CSFR minister of foreign trade and a VPN parliamentarian, in which he confirms the fears of a putsch expressed by Milan Zitny. Baksay, who is a supporter of Fedor Gal's VPN wing, says: "In one interview I said that there was only one thing I was afraid of—the embarkation of Slovakia upon the path of national socialism. My fear is beginning to be realized. Prime Minister Meciar and his VPN For a Democratic Slovakia platform are planning to seize power completely, and power concentrated in one person's hand—be it Stalin, Brezhnev, or Meciar—is horrible. It sends shivers up and down my spine when I remember the course of the VPN Assembly in Topolcany and put into the proper context Prime Minister Meciar's words there that Slovakia's conduct vis-a-vis the USSR must be politically benign [musi sa chovat politicky mierne]. Allow me to sketch out a terrible scenario. When the secret plans for a communist putsch in Slovakia come off, the common state will break up. This will mean economic bankruptcy for Slovakia, which, in view of the structure of its economy and its economic performance, will be unable to ensure sufficient resources. It goes without saying that the West would turn its back on us."

Civic Movement Discourages Escalation of Passions

LD1503202791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] At today's news conference in Prague, Pavel Rychetsky, member of the Civic Movement Preparatory Committee Presidium, appealed to all Czechs and Slovaks not to respond in the same way to the escalation of nationalism, chauvinism, feelings, and passions. In the Civic Movement's view, joint responsibility for the state is of absolute primary importance, and it is binding. Responding to yesterday's incident in Bratislava involving President Vaclav Havel, Pavel Rychetsky said that the existence of street rallies and demonstrations is one of the everyday attributes of a well-functioning democracy. If these phenomena go beyond the limits set by fundamental principles of ethics and by the criminal code, however, it will be necessary to consistently implement the legal code. Another Civic Movement representative, [Czech Prime Minister] Petr Pithart, said that the incident in Bratislava is no surprise.

Dubcek Says Zantovsky's Remarks Harm Federation

AU1503170691 Prague CTK in English 1158 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)— Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek took issue today with Monday's statement of Presidential Spokesman Michal Zantovsky that a new coalition seemed to be forming in Slovakia.

Dubcek told the daily "HOSPODARSKE NOVINY" that such an attitude was "harmful to the federation ... and in essence pursued an incorrect intention."

Zantovsky said at his regular briefing on March 11 that a new coalition which seemed to be forming in Slovakia consisted of 1968 reform communists, present communists, separatists, and forces which reminisce about the 1939-1945 Slovak state as about a golden period of the Slovak nation.

Dubcek, who led the 1968 communist reform effort in the country, said his and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's statements this week made it clear that the position presented by Zantovsky did not correspond with reality.

He stated that his creed is to overcome the present crisis in Czech-Slovak relations by a positive program and deeds, which will result in a federal state of the Czechs and Slovaks. These two nations want to live in a common state, he said. In his opinion, the main problem

is the creation of such a form of the state which should express the sovereignty of the two national republics and at the same time preserve the federal unity of the state.

President Havel Rejects 'Provocation' Claim

LD1603225691 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 16 mar

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by unidentified reporter on 16 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] President Havel, a part of the Slovak press has lately voiced the view that your presence at the demonstration that recalled the anniversary of the Slovak state was not very sensible and could even have been a provocation. Would you like to comment on that?

[Havel] I reject this opinion. I refuse to be a president who avoids the central squares of any town in our republic. I think it was a good thing that I was there, I am glad that I was there, and I am glad that I saw it. I was walking along the pavement as a pedestrian to whom the crowd need not have paid any attention at all, or whom they could have greeted, or at whom they could have shouted fascist slogans, too—the choice was up to them. It was my decision to go to that square and I am glad that I was there.

It is not true that I ran away. I had ample opportunity to escape, there are many side-streets leading from the square. I stayed there for some time on purpose because I was interested to see what sort of people were there, I wanted to get acquainted and be able to observe this phenomenon, and it seems to me that it was a good thing that I have done it, for various reasons, and above all because it helped the great majority of the Slovaks who do not have these fascist ideas; slogans against Jews and so on were chanted there. It is necessary to come to one's senses, to distance oneself from it and to condemn it and to isolate oneself from it. They really chanted "Havel provocateur," meaning that it was a provocation that I was walking there. I reject all the claims that this was a provocation, a political gaffe, rashness or political clumsiness on my part. I obsolutely reject this.

[Reporter] Mr. President, how do you look now after three days at those groups? Would it be sensible to make them criminally liable from the viewpoint of the future of the federation?

[Havel] I think that the General Prosecutor's Office must discuss this and that it must discuss whether it was not a propagation of fascism. It is its task; I cannot influence its decision or advise it how to decide. I was trying to understand who were the people whom I could observe directly and who followed me and treated me with hateful signs of antagonism. There were a lot of young people there who, it seemed to me, had become fanatical, hypnotized—as if they were high on drugs, and reminded me of the crowds afer important football games who perhaps did not even have much idea who Tiso was or what the Slovak state was. Jiri Krizan, my aide, was even kicked by a nine-year-old child shouting "Long live Tiso!"

It shows to the irresponsibility of those who let such a genie out of the bottle, and who allow an atmosphere of collective aggression to develop and, what is more, around that flag.

Commentary Assesses Havel's Speech to Slovaks

LD1503202191 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Ernest Weidler commentary]

[Text] We can imagine how horrified domestic and foreign television cameras were when they noticed late yesterday afternoon a crowd demonstrating for the pro-Hitlerite Slovak state and its President Dr. Jozef Tiso, and walking alongside a democrat, Vaclav Havel. Shouts and threats reflected the uncivilized behavior, vulgarity, and fascist trends of enraged groups.

A cool observer however could not fail to think: Was there no one who could warn Vaclav Havel that violence might break out at the central square in Bratislava? Who would recommend that he choose a different route for his evening stroll? An objective commentator would not like to look for a different plot in this strange and actually quite absurd tragicomedy.

On Czechoslovak TV's news bulletin the president delivered a keynote speech to the population of Slovakia. He was fully justified to express his conviction that only two state forms are open to the Czechs and Slovaks—the current federation or two independent states.

It is true that in a civilized and democratic society, it is possible to consider ideas other than the president's; for example, a federation that will be different from the current one because the one that we have today seems to be disproportionate to a part of the Slovak general public. Only a few federal and Czech experts show the willingness and ability to prove to the Slovaks that they are wrong. After all, for understandable reasons of self-preservation, it is they whom the current form of federation suits well.

The president is right when he says that the federation should have a meaning and that it should improve both national republics. We can only differ in understanding what to have it mean. For example, if the joint entry of the Czechs and Slovaks into Europe in the form of a federation is envisaged as something socially and economically inevitable, the question must be asked whether the federal and also the Czech representatives in the diplomatic and other services are sufficiently interested to see to it that people in Europe—the focus of desire—and in the faraway United States learn about the eastern third of the federation [i.e. Slovakia] and in which way this representation of Slovakia is guaranteed in the world.

Many people in Slovakia received with reservations the president's claim that it is difficult to get Slovaks to take on federal offices. I actually do not doubt it. I already said last Saturday that Slovaks who do not want to lose their national identity and their feeling of appurtenance to the republic and were delegated to federal offices hesitate to go to Prague. If they do not submit themselves to the political ideas there, they risk continuously being a target of hard and major attacks from Prague political and journalistic circles.

The president correctly sees the only way out from the current situation in a referendum. If the referendum takes place in the form of yes or no for the federation, however, it can become a hotbed of Slovak unrest against reinforced federal institutions, because after that any doubt on the given situation of the federation will be seen as high treason.

If a referendum does not take place on the basis of seeking the optimum form for a joint state of Czechs and Slovaks instead of state independence, it will create a false picture of the will of the people and nations and will become a permanent source of tension.

I will make my idea very clear. It seems to me that before holding the referendum, we must consider that the greater part of the Slovak general public supports the idea of coexistence with the citizens of the Czech Republic; however, on the basis of new and purer relations, on the basis of real equality. What is absurd is that some blind extremists see nationalism even in this explanation of the federation.

If I decipher correctly the feelings of a wider part of the Slovak general public, they highly regard Vaclav Havel's sophistication and uniqueness. They respect his international authority. They shows a willingness to listen to no other person in the Czech political vanguard but him and to continue to live in a joint state with the Czechs through him and with him. This large group, however, also does not want to live under the guardianship of some not very sensitive and often insensitive tutors. Because of this, too, it would be useful and democratic if the president and his advisers not only researched the color and intensity of ultra-red or ultra-black radiation beams from Slovakia to Prague but also the ultra-violet or colorless radiation from Prague to Slovakia.

President Vaclav Havel's speech yesterday to the Slovak nation had a statesmanlike professionalism, proficiency, and sophistication. If, however, he will not make a similar deliberate and well thought-out speech to the federal institutions and another speech to the Czech nation, his speech from Bratislava Castle will lose importance—if not a key dimension, a dimension that is inevitable for the office of the head of a democratic state. This is the dimension of objectivity, because if there is only one speech, to the Slovaks, it will show that the federation and its democratic character are threatened only by the Slovaks. This would be too superficial and too unilateral a view.

Slovak TV Apologizes to Havel for 'Disinformation'

LD1503231791 Prague Federal Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Statement by Slovak Television director Petr Zemen; place and date not given]

[Text] Good evening, dear television viewers. Yesterday evening, Slovak Television put out a news report on President Vaclav Havel's working visit to Slovakia, and in a comment on the final part of his walking tour in the city and his visit to Slovak National Uprising Square, we said that the culmination of the president's visit to Bratislava was his participation in a demonstration for Slovak independence, that the people present did not allow him to speak, and he was forced to leave the rally to the sound of whistling.

As director of Slovak Television, I feel the need to set the record straight. President Havel originally did not intend to be present in any way at that rally. On Vajansky Embankment, where there was a demonstration for Czechoslovak unity, and where the president stopped for a few moments to watch, he decided to walk over to National Uprising Square at the side of the demonstrators, without intending to make any speech or in any other way disrupt the course of the demonstration. Consequently, the Slovak Television commentary shifted this part of the president's working visit onto a totally different plane.

On behalf of Slovak Television, I consider it necessary to apologize to the president of the Republic for this disinformation.

Moravia Offered as Site To Settle 'Crisis'

LD1603161791 Prague CTK in English 1337 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Brno March 16 (CTK)—The Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) today offered any place in Moravia as neutral soil for discussions between Czech and Slovak representatives on settling the current crisis.

Speaking at a demonstration of 15,000 people for the rights of Moravia and Silesia (the two regions separating Bohemia from Slovakia) here today, chairman of the Brno city council of HSD-SMS Otakar Konsbul said Moravians and Silesians want Czechoslovakia's integrity to be maintained, adding however that Slovaks must decide themselves what path they will take. The whole of Czechoslovakia urgently needs to achieve a radical cut and complete liquidation of central power and this should lead to the formation of a tripartite federal republic of Czechoslovakia, he said.

HSD-SMS Chairman Boleslav Barta told the gathering that he saw a solution to the present problems in holding a referendum.

Christian Groups Favor Tripartite Federation

LD1703201991 Prague CTK in English 1615 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Brno March 17 (CTK)—Representatives of three Christian parties have agreed on the need to maintain a common state, while intending to support a tripartite federation.

Representatives of the three parties with the chairmen Josef Lux of the Czechoslovak People's Party, Jan Carnogursky of the Christian Democratic Movement and Vaclav Benda of the Christian Democratic Party said here yesterday they favoured a federation of three equal republics—Czech, Moravian-Silesian and Slovak.

The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), however, still insists on a state treaty between the Czech and the Slovak Republics whilst the two Czech parties ruled out a federal state formation that would not be based on a constitution and firmly fixed sovereignty in defined areas. Expert commissions have started working out details of a compromise settlement.

Slovak Nationalists Mark Slovak State Anniversary

AU1503170491 Prague CTK in English 2108 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 13 (CTK)— A cross was consecrated and erected today on the grave of Jozef Tiso [president of the Slovak state, 1939-1945] in the Martin Cemetery in Bratislava at a commemorative ceremony.

It was the first event held in the framework of the national celebrations of the 52nd anniversary of the declaration of the independent and sovereign Slovak Republic in 1939. It was organized by a new political force, the Slovak National Unity, whose aim is the independent Slovak state.

Some 2,000 participants in the ceremony were addressed by deputy to the federal parliament Stanislav Panis who praised Tiso's "merits for the Slovak nation." It was not for the first time in history "when power humiliated law and justice and an innocent man had to die," the deputy said.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 14 March on page 2 carries a 30-word unattributed report saying that "On the eve of the 52d anniversary of the founding of the Slovak Republic on 14 March 1939, the Slovak People's Party organized a meeting in Bratislava. Some 500 people were present at the meeting."]

Gal Presents Draft Resolution of Slovak VPN

LD1603195391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Statement by Fedor Gal at the session of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Here is the draft resolution presented by Fedor Gal at the session of the Slovak Council of Public Against Violence [VPN]. It is not certain whether this resolution will be adopted because the session is still going on:

[Gal] First, I recommend to the Slovak Council of VPN to appeal to the deputies of the VPN in the Slovak National Council [SNR] to look into political responsibility and legitimacy of the steps of the Slovak prime minister at the next session of the Presidium of the Slovak legislature.

Second, I recommend to the Slovak Council of the VPN to appeal to the VPN deputies in the SNR to initiate at the next session of the plenum of the SNR the work of the commission which would investigate the use of material of the former secret police in Slovakia by high state officials and in particular by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, as well as the activity of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic since November 1989. At the same time I propose to stress again the need for speedy screening of SNR deputies, members of the Slovak Government, the staff of the office of the government, the office of the SNR, and also looking into the basis of contacts with the former members of the secret police.

Third, I recommend to the Slovak Council of the VPN to define the political responsibility of Milan Knazko, member of the Slovak Council of VPN who, with his speech on television on 3 March 1991 grossly disinformed the public, caused escalation of public tension, and with his political actions in the office of the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Slovak Republic, cast doubt on the principled stand of VPN on the issue of state legislative setup, as it is formulated in the program "Chance for Slovakia".

Furthermore, there is the case of Augustin Huska, whose personal views on Czechslovak relations and prospects of state legislative setup departed from the VPN program, who with his economic views throws doubts on the basic priority of the VPN program—radical economic reform—who carries responsibility for the delay in the process of privatization in the Slovak Republic, who in his addresses did not respect the conclusions of the Topolcany Congress, who for a long time refused to take part in the collective decisions of the bodies of the movement, who presented false information to the general public about the affairs and the representatives of the VPN, and whose stand shortly prior to 14 March seriously violated political stability before his departure abroad.

I propose to the Slovak Council of VPN to express to those mentioned above a vote of no confidence and state that in their state offices they do not represent the interests and the platform of the VPN movement that nominated them into these offices.

I also suggest that the Presidium of the VPN Slovak Council is entrusted with coalition talks with the Christian Democratic Movement and Democratic Party about the current situation as well as to entrust a group of the members of the VPN Slovak Council with establishing contact with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar with the aim to explain the resolution adopted by today's Council and to consult with him the use of mass media, above all television, for political struggle.

VPN Blames Slovak Ministers for Situation

LD1703120991 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0700 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] The Slovak Council of Public Against Violence [VPN] assessed at its session the internal political situation in Slovakia. It regards the situation as dangerous for our democratic development, for the existence of the federation, and for the stability in Central Europe. The discussion confirmed that actions of some representatives nominated to the government by the VPN have contributed greately to the situation that has arisen. Disparate actions in political work are, apart from the differences in interpreting policy principles, the basis of internal conflict in the movement. The issue is mainly the disrespect for democratic principles in the work of Vladimir Meciar and Milan Knazke. The Slovak Council [SNR] of VPN recommends that the next session of the SNR presidium deal with the responsibility and justifiable nature of the actions of the Slovak prime minister and draw conclusions on Minister Knazko's political responsibility. They should also establish a commission that will reexamine the use of documents of the former State Security in Slovakia by high state officials. The Slovak Council of VPN has instructed its presidium to hold coalition talks concerning the situation that has arisen wioth the Christian Democratic Movement, the Democratic Party, and the Hungarian Independent Initiative.

Gal, Dubcek Cited on Slovak Ministers

LD1703225691 Prague CTK in English 1841 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 17 (CTK)—Slovak Public Against Violence (VPN) leader Fedor Gal has defined the movement's priorities as pursuing economic reform, adoption of a Slovak and federal constitution and forming a government team that would function without conflicts.

Reviewing yesterday's session of the VPN Slovak Council, which passed a no-confidence vote on Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and External Relations Minister Milan Knazko, Gal said in an interview for Slovak television last night that in his opinion the differentiation in the VPN leading to the setting up of new platforms was quite normal though painful.

Represented at yesterday's session was also the platform 'For Democratic Slovakia' which broke away from VPN earlier this month.

Referring to Meciar, Gal conceded he was the most popular political personality at Slovakia's political scene, pointing out, however, that the prime minister was absent from VPN council sessions and coalition talks for over a month.

Meanwhile, Czechoslovak parliament chairman Alexander Dubcek, who was present at yesterday's session, told CTK he trusted Meciar, adding that the prime minister acquitted himself well in the post. Possible attempts to rid him of the post would go against sound logic, Dubcek said.

He said of the VPN Slovak Council conclusion that Meciar and Knazko did not represent the movement in their posts that it was a political error and incorrect step.

Havel-Led Delegation Departs for Benelux Visit

LD1703140291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] President Vaclav Havel, accompanied by his wife and entourage, left on a two-day official state visit to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg at the invitation of the Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg.

At the invitation of Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, he will then pay an official working visit to the Kingdom of Belgium on 19 and 20 March. In the capital, Brussels, he will visit the European Communities Commission, mainly NATO headquarters. It is expected that he will hold talks with Jacques Delors, chairman of the European Communities Commission, and NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. The Czechoslovak president, as the first representative of Warsaw Pact countries, is due to deliver a speech at the session of the NATO Council of Ministers.

At the end of his visit to Benelux countries and at the invitation of Netherlands Queen Beatrix, Vaclav Havel will pay an official state visit to the Kingdom of Netherlands from 21 to 23 March.

The president is accompanied by Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay, Karel Schwarzenberk, chief of the presidential office, and advisors Alexander Vondra and Michael Zantovsky.

Havel Makes Statement Before Departure

LD1703223891 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Statement by CSFR President Vaclav Havel at Prague's Ruzyne Airport before departing on a tour of the Benelux countries on 17 March—recorded]

[Excerpts] I have to say that I am leaving reassured, and I am leaving feeling happy, having received a large

number of letters and greetings in the past two days and past hours from Slovakia in which all assured me that those fascist groups do not represent the Slovak nation, that the Slovak nation is for democracy, for the federation. I have a feeling that the situation will remain disturbed for a while yet, especially in Slovakia, but I have reason to hope that in about 14 days it will calm down. I have also certain reasons to hope that the constitution-creating process would develop well. I am leaving reassured, but, naturally, if anything especially important should be taking place, I can always get on a plane and return home. I do not think that this would be necessary. [passage omitted]

The visit to the Benelux countries has the same goal as some of my previous visits to European countries: to contribute to our coming closer to Europe. [passage omitted]

This is a part of our policy by which we strive to become a legitimate part of the democratic Europe, as a democratic state. I should, in this regard, stress that this policy is not directed against anybody, that it is not directed against the Soviet Union. We hope that in the Soviet Union—be it with difficulties, but at last—democracy will win and that nations of the Soviet Union will also become a part of the democratic space of Europe. [passage omitted]

Dienstbier on Relations With Baltic States

AU1503170891 Prague CTK in English 2104 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)— The Baltic states can regain their sovereignty only by legal means, said Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier at a press conference here today.

He voiced Czechoslovakia's support to the Baltic republics' right to self-determination but at the same time stressed that Moscow plays a key part in the region and that an agreement between the Baltic republics and the Soviet central government is necessary.

Dienstbier sees the role of Czechoslovakia in supporting democratic forces in the Soviet Union.

The forthcoming referendum on the future of the Soviet Union, due on March 17, is an attempt at finding a solution to the relations between the central government and the republics, according to Dienstbier. But he added that the results of the referendum will not be decisive as the citizens are to answer a very general question.

Asked if the different positions of the three republics can provoke a different approach of Czechoslovakia to them Dienstbier answered negatively.

Journalists also learned that visits of the three republics' foreign ministers are planned in the weeks to come.

Czech Delegates to Council of Europe Approved

AU1503171091 Prague CTK in English 1624 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)— A Czech National Council's (parliament) plenary session approved today the proposed nomination of ten Czech deputies to the standing conference of local and regional bodies of the Council of Europe.

The ratio of Czech to Slovak deputies to the conference was set at ten to six which means that the Czech Republic will have five delegates and five alternate members from the total number of sixteen seats allotted to Czechoslovakia.

Meciar Queried on Visits to Italy, USSR

LD1503222991 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1810 GMT 15 Mar 91

[In-flight interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Bohus Gecy "and his colleagues from CTK and television" on the prime minister's return from Kiev to Bratislava on 15 March —recorded]

[Excerpts] [Gecy] Your six-day visit to Italy and the Soviet Union is about to end. First we would like to ask you about the results achieved in Italy. Specifically, let us begin with Rome where you were received by the Holy Father and where you met the prime minister of the Italian Government and Italian industrialists. How do you assess your stay in Rome?

[Meciar] The audience with the Holy Father was not only a matter of courtesy as we discussed with him, as well as with State Security Cardinal Tomko, very important things concerning the relationship and contacts between the state and church, the position of the church in Slovakia, the solution of a number of things that used to be disputed in the course of history, and putting right the wrongs committed against the church by the former regime.

Our meeting with the Italian prime minister was immensely important because we clarified Italy's stand on the current events in our country, developments in Europe, and the intention of the Slovak Republic to develop activities in Italy linked to the Slovak Republic's trade and economic interests. Our talks were successful, and I can say that we got full support. [passage omitted] I felt uneasy before going to the Soviet Union.

[Gecy] Why?

[Meciar] Because we have to start from the situation that has formed. Willing or unwilling, we have to admit that the major part of the Slovak Republic's economy was orientated toward the Soviet Union. So far all talks [words indistinct] ended unsuccessfully, including talks held by Mr. Pithart. If we had not achieved an agreement in the Soviet Union it would have meant we would suddenly have more than 100,000 unemployed people.

Moreover, the situation is complicated by the problem of how to transform the administration and economic mechanism valid in our country to the legal and economic mechanisms valid in the Soviet Union. That is why Prime Minister Pavlov of the Soviet Union asked whether the Slovak Government wishes to become a pioneer in this field and try this difficult terrain. We accepted his offer.

The agreement to set up a joint bank is, in fact, an agreement to set up a commercial transactions center, which would provide accounting of reciprocal exchange of goods between the Slovak and Russian Republic. At the same time, a commercial consortium should be established, which would deal with direct investments in production programs and with exchange of goods. So in this respect we were successful. An agreement was also reached that the Russian Federation will draft a list of goods we shall be able to import and export and that these will be underwritten by the Russian Federation. This should be completed within a month and should be followed by talks between the directors of enterprises, which should quickly conclude agreements. In Slovakia, we have ready goods worth several billion that should have been exported to the Soviet Union but which remain in the country.

This was followed by our visit to the Ukraine, where the exact procedure of talks was a little different, because there is a different political situation in the Ukraine than in Moscow and also because their intentions are not to create coordination groups on the republican level, but to do everything directly on the level of enterprises. In the end, after difficult talks, we arrived at a conclusion concerning the action we shall take. We intend to set up a common corporation, a part of which would also be a bank that would arrange mutual exchange. We also intend to build companies, which would deal with the sale of goods to a third market.

The talks were extremely demanding and complex everywhere, however. I would like to say that the Slovak Government delegation received maximum possible respect and attention everywhere. My own feeling is that we were welcomed as guests and that the agreements that were concluded represent, in fact, a breakthrough of certain barriers and a reopening of new opportunities. Whether we manage to make use of this depends on all who will follow in my steps and who should conclude specific agreements. [passage omitted]

So, in fact, we went there to look for jobs for people and (?to create) other jobs. It was the only purpose of this trip. [passage omitted, followed by a question about why he was abroad at a time when he should remain in his country]

[Meciar] Is the situation in Slovakia really so dramatic that it would prevent my traveling abroad, or is there someone who dramatizes it? The fact that a Matica Slovenska meeting would take place and that speeches would be made in the square was known beforehand, and I do not know why so much noise was made about it. All stands promulgating Slovakia's sovereignty were known beforehand. There was not a single new factor among them. As far as events related to 14 March are concerned, we were trying to find out what is in the making and whether it would take place. Our information was satisfactory. And so, one should ask, (?what would I do if I were home)? Would I be defending myself and my post? [words indistinct] I went abroad to defend jobs for others, which is what we need. And to start polemicizing with such unsophisticated statements as those made by some of your politicians—for example, by Mr. Sutovec, Mr. Baksay, some from Fedor Gal's circle, these amount to such political wretchedness and misery that I think that it is a pity to waste time and efforts on them, because time will heal everything. But people must have jobs. The point is that I would be unable to explain to anyone that (?in order to save my own name), I took the liberty of overlooking the fact that many thousands of people might go jobless. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to return to your trip to Italy when voices were heard for the first time, especially during your meetings with journalists, comparing current developments in Slovakia with the Slovak state of the war period. What did you think about this and what, in your view, is the basis of questions about national socialism and similar issues while these trends were being attributed to Slovakia and the Slovak citizens.

[Meciar] First of all, I was surprised that they had such views, and I asked them what the source of their information was. Second, I was surprised to be told that the source was the Office of the President of the Republic, specifically his press secretary Mr. Zantovsky.

Slovakia is not fascist. To call Slovakia fascist is to damage its name and the interests of the Slovak Republic abroad because it casts doubt on Slovakia as a whole. If something of this kind is happening, then it is political adventurism and irresponsibility as well as an attempt to label events that have never had such a character. As well as the perjorative and offensive character of such a label, it is also politically a wrong assessment and shows the bad intention of those who go public with such statements.

As far as events in our country are concerned, there is a saying: The dogs may bark, but the caravan rolls on. No matter who barks or what they bark, Slovakia will be a democratic country and will remain a democratic country. If you heard the opinions expressed at various meetings by those who have been to our country, they said that Slovakia is a country that is developing more dynamically than the Czech lands. They all consider it to be a European country with a promising future, and that is what Slovakia will be; however, all the various attempts to divert it to a different path and put labels on it show the wretchedness of the people who are doing

this, and I believe that Slovakia and the political representatives and the people will manage to give a telling response.

[Gecy] Despite this, I would like to ask one more thing, Mr. Prime Minister. Yesterday the meeting or demonstration—I do not know what to call it—according to the information that I received from my colleagues in radio, was characterized by fascist-type elements where we even saw the banners of Hlinka's guard, and it is said that they even had uniforms there, so there are certain elements of this kind of scenario there.

[Meciar] Yes, these elements are not new either, but they have no significance or support in Slovak politics. They are simply isolated aberrations on the part of certain individuals. [passage omitted]

I think that the time has come for us to start talking very rationally about Czech chauvinism, in addition to Slovak nationalism, and to start talking too about the fact that Czech politicians are basically unable to prevent political disintegration in the Czech lands, particularly in respect of Moravia. They are unable to understand and they are not even willing to accept certain aspects of developments in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Meciar Gives Weekly Address

LD1703235391 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 1810 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Weekly address by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar; place and date not given: "The Slovak Prime Minister Speaks"—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening, dear fellow citizens. The past week has been a difficult and hectic one. A lot of smoke has been generated, and it is time to clear the air.

My visit abroad was significant and important. We visited Italy and the Soviet Union. In Italy I met the Holy Father along with the other members of the delegation, and I convey to you sincere greetings from him to all Slovaks who are dear to his heart. The Holy Father said that Europe is both poor and rich, but that it is morally sick in both its parts. He was right; his thoughts were profound, and his words were encouraging. We also held talks with the Italian prime minister, with the authorities in Venice, and with others. The results of those talks are positive. They receive us everywhere; they are interested in us; they respect us; they know our circumstances; and on many issues they agree with us. The problems we are tackling in our country in relations between the federation and the republics have a different form in their country—regional governments, central governments, and European integration—but the substance of those problems is almost the same. So the issues we are tackling in our country are not specific solely to us; they have a broader European dimension. To refer to these only in terms of Slovak-Czech relations would therefore be rather too narrow a view.

The conditions for cooperation with Italy are improving. Doors are opening to new ventures and new activities abroad by all our enterprises. One of the positive results is that Kolarovo will manufacture new motorcycles, and they will be good ones.

My other visit was to the Soviet Union. There was a lot of mystification about that visit before the event, and there is a lot of it now, too. The political question as far as I am concerned is this: Does it serve a purpose for Czechoslovakia to maintain trading relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of mutual advantage without ideological labels, without being based on military political blocs, and without focusing on applying the leading role of the party, or does it not? My answer is yes, it does. I expressed my attitude to the Communist Party and to communism in public at a news conference in Moscow.

The second question is the economic one: Do we need to maintain trading relations with the Soviets? For years our manufacturing industry was geared toward specialization heading east. Yes, these relations can be stopped, but someone must then tell me what we are going to do with the people who will lose their jobs. What about the financial resources that will not be generated, where are we going to find the funds to replace them? That is why the visit to the Soviet Union was necessary. The talks were conducted at the highest level wherever we went. Results have been achieved, although it was not easy, and we found a way of freeing the logjam in our trade for some time ahead. It was solely a question of trade relations. I reject any other relations or views which were called into question in this connection. The talks were held in public; they were attended by officials and ambassadors; records were made of many of them. There were no secret talks or agreements. We were there solely to work, to provide jobs; we were acting as go-betweens.

After the visits to these countries I can say that marked interest was expressed everywhere in stability in Czechoslovakia. The arrangement of mutual relations between the Republics, however, is something that was viewed everywhere as an internal affair of ours, and all they said everywhere was that the whole process should take place on a politically mature level, and with the appropriate level of information. As for all the rest, it is solely our own matter. To claim that any political change in our country, in the Public Against Violence movement, or elsewhere would immediately result in the destabilization of Central Europe is nonsense.

To refer back to the events of the past week, I must comment on one or two aspects, particularly my view on the declaration of Slovak sovereignty. We are interested in living in a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks, but we must answer the question what form that state will take. If it is proposed to hold a referendum, a referendum can only answer the question: Federation, yes or no? That answer will be yes, but not even a referendum can answer the question of what form the federation should take. Therefore, this question needs to be given more preparation; the standpoints of all the

political forces need to be brought into unision. This is not something that can be left solely to the ruling political parties, because in parliament a three-fifths majority is needed, and it will still remain for the Slovak National Council [SNR] to pronounce. There needs to be wider discussion; solutions need to be sought and proposed; the groundwork for unity needs to be laid; and we need to take a united approach in relation to the representatives of the Czech Republic.

I reject a priori ultimatums of any kind and comments such as "It is this or nothing," because that is not the way to reach agreement. In this respect I expect greater understanding on the part of the Czech Republic, the Czech National Council, and the Czech Government too, and I would be glad if the situation concerning Moravia also stabilized and became clear.

As far as the events of 14 March are concerned, my information is that those rallies took place only in Bratislava and nowhere else on Slovak territory. Taking part were elements that brought to mind the historical period which I, for my part, do not endorse. The attack on the president of the Republic is inadmissible; therefore, it is vital for the prosecution agencies and others to act in accordance with the law and apply the law against anyone who violates it. If I had known that the president would be visiting on the 14th and that he would go to the Square, I would have cut short my visit [to the USSR], gone with him, and ensured his safety. That was a duty which fell to others—how they discharged it I do not know.

As for matters in the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, I know of the faction that is working toward the objective of bringing about my dismissal from my post. Such a decision is within the remit of the SNR; whether it makes that decision or not is something which depends on the SNR deputies. I cannot agree, however, with the internal problems of a political movement being transferred to state bodies, and with deputies of the coalition parties deciding whether or not political standpoints in one or other stream of a political movement are justified. The rift which exists within VPN is a dispute about internal democracy. [passage omitted]

I take the view that I belong to the VPN movement. That movement is and must remain under a certain politically united umbrella; it is and must remain united on the planks of its policy. It can, however, differentiate in its organizational principles, views, methods, and approachs to tackling problems; in fact, it has already done so. There are deputies who belong to the Platform for a Democratic Slovakia in the SNR and in the Federal Assembly, and it is not possible to expel them all simply because they felt, thought, and acted in a different way.

I reject the indications that led to accusations of a left-wing coup in Slovakia and to outright comments to this effect. No such threat existed in Slovakia; the whole thing is fabricated and amounts to public disinformation.

So, dear fellow citizens, last week saw much that was unpleasant. I could have stayed at home; I could have stood up to it, but I had a duty to provide work for you. I had a duty to attend to the development of Slovakia which is greater and more important than my personal position. What decision the SNR bodies will make this week is up to them. I have done my job honorably; I can look at you at any time with a clear conscience, and I do not need to reproach myself for not having done my job. I did not work alone. I have been helped by many people, and I have also been helped by you, dear fellow citizens. I thank you for everything. Whether we meet again next time is up to the SNR to decide. Thank you.

Calfa Questioned on Slovakia, Press Issues

LD1503235791 Prague Federal I Television Network in Czech 1850 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Interview with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister"—recorded, Calfa speaks in Slovak]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, I must ask, what are your views on yesterday's events in Bratislava?

[Calfa] Well, I witnessed them, and I must say that it exceeded all expectations. I thought the climax was on Monday, but yesterday it turned out that it was not the case. Slovak television showed shots in which a part of the crowd was trying to attack the president of the Republic. I truly think that we have arrived at the brink of understanding democratic gatherings, the right to express our own will. They say that it is only certain citizens of Slovakia—and I truly think so too—that it is only a certain small group, that it does not express the will of the entire Slovak people. It is puzzling why Slovak television—I would consider it a normal practice—does not broadcast some views, reactions of citizens all over Slovakia, to all the actions. Then we would not be surprised if on the Czech side there were a wave of resistance against this kind of politics, against this kind of understanding in Slovakia, a question of sovereignty in Slovakia.

[Reporter] I am glad you are saying this, Mr. Chairman, because from Monday until yesterday, we were receiving phone calls from all over Slovakia, and a number of friends, as well as other people, phoned the TV station saying that this was not their point of view. They even cried, they were ashamed of these things. I am also sorry that these voices did not find their way onto TV. Moreover, a question was asked: Why was a Federal Assembly deputy the main speaker as well as its main convener....

[Calfa, interrupting] It is indeed a paradox that the convener of such a meeting was a Federal Assembly deputy. In fact, he promised to adhere to the constitution. We have the Constitution of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. What is paradoxical is that he is, in fact, a Federal Assembly deputy and is thus paid for his

activities from federation funds. Thus the federation is paying a deputy who is exerting maximum efforts appealing to break the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

[Reporter] I think we might come back to these matters. I would like to use the interview for other questions. It is 15 March, and I remember that you said that the Czech and the Slovak Governments should express their views on the prepared price alterations on power and fuels by this date. The public is awaiting this with great impatience, agitation. What is the situation in this delicate matter?

[Calfa] Not only the public is waiting for it, the federal government is also waiting. We discussed these questions in great detail. We sent the material to the republican governments and asked them to express their views. It is an exceptionally sensitive social question, and we want to proceed in a united manner so if the federal government adopts a decision, it will not be attacked by one of the republican governments. That can happen too. We have the Czech Government standpoint at our disposal. The Slovak Government viewpoint is not available yet. The Slovak Government has not been in session, it did not discuss these questions. That government will be in session the beginning of next week so we expect the viewpoint to be available after 19 March.

At the federal level, we are continuing work on legal measures that will cause a breakthrough in the current situation with suppliers being paid for maximum deliveries of the heating mediums. We want to anchor this so people can install heat-measuring meters so they can pay according to what the meters show. This means that it is absolutely out of the question that we produce a situation in which people will be truly reduced to paying without regulating who gives them what.

[Reporter] So we will probably talk about this only after the federal government forms the actual conclusions. Another question on this week: Very complicated talks are under way in the legislature on the prepared bill on land. It is well known that there were several variants. Now the talks have narrowed down to a government proposal, to the proposal of the so-called three T's of Deputy Tyl. The day before yesterday in the Federal Assembly, we heard whether or not it would be possible to postpone the discussion on this bill. What is your view on this problem?

[Calfa] It is an exceptionally important bill. It supplements mainly the small and large restitution bills. We all need this bill. The federal government worked out a bill. It was working on it for a long time. It has a big range. [passage indistinct]

The priority was, in principle: to arrange things in such a way that we would secure the nourishment of the people. That is why if we do not pass this legal amendment we will jeopardize this basic task of ours, mainly because our agricultural cooperatives are insecure. They do not know their future. They do not know if it is going to be talked about. They represent today the basic organizations that in Czechoslovakia produce food for our market. We want to satisfy those who would like to farm privately on their own land. Thus we need a legal norm to safeguard the transition of land to their hands and to safeguard conditions for this.

Somehow or other, we have to come to terms with the land that now belongs to state farms, state organizations. There is a great deal of peripeteias. The easiest solution is simply not to talk about it. I do understand that, but from the point of view of executive power, from the point of view of practice, from the point of view of the people who work on the land, we must exert every effort to complete this bill so that it can be passed. The government will be in session tommorrow, Saturday. Minister Dlouhy will deliver a report there on what is going on in the Federal Assembly, what changes have been adopted, and so on. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] One final question. I think you had yet another unpleasant visit this week. Journalists and representatives of the press asked about the question of taxes, prices of paper, and everything connected with this. It is being connected somewhat with politics because the collapse of the press market is, in fact, the question of information and freedom of the citizens and freedom of the press, freedom of speech, all that is connected with it. Have you tackled this problem?

[Calfa] Naturally it is a complicated problem. It has been mapped out by representatives from the Slovak Republic. So far I have agreed that I will receive information also from Czech Republic representatives. There is evidence now that the state budget foresees a certain sum of sales tax, but it will never get it because newspapers are disappearing, circulation is being reduced. In fact these politics will in the long run reduce the income of the state budget because newspapers simply will not be sold. There will be no tax on them. This forces us to consider whether the tax that was stipulated is, in fact, correct; if it safeugards optimally the relation between the budget and the journalistic sphere. Representatives of journalists are interested in the tax being zero, the state budget is interested in at least some income coming in. These two views simply must be balanced somehow. I promised that we would discuss this with exceptional seriousness and adopt a stance shortly.

[Reporter] Thank you for your interview today.

Calfa Explains Delay of Government Session

AU1503170291 Prague CTK in English 2133 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)— A federal government session planned for Thursday will be held on Saturday as a number of ministers will not be in Prague tomorrow, Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa told CTK today.

The prime minister specified it by saying that "several ministers will accompany the president of the Republic on his visit to Slovakia, some are abroad, and others have other assignments."

On Saturday, the government is to deal with the Land Law, approve an agreement on the establishment of an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development branch office in Czechoslovakia, and the latest developments in the country, Calfa said.

Investigations Into CPCZ Dealings Continue

LD1603110191 Prague CTK in English 2309 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—Former Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] hardliner Vasil Bilak is prosecuted as an abettor though he tries to defend himself by claims about collective responsibility of the party Presidium, according to the Czechoslovak prosecutor-general.

Ivan Gasparovic told journalists today that a 30-member team of the Office for the Investigation of Unconstitutional Activity of the Federal Interior Ministry continues to investigations into the property of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. According to facts so far discovered, the party sent a sum of 500,000 dollars at least three times to Moscow on the account of the International Communist and Workers' Movement in the period before November 17, 1989.

The team also investigates machinations with financial means of the Communist Party closely before and after the adoption of a law on returning the party's property to the Czechoslovak people. It has so far been discovered that the party granted at least 6.5 million crowns [korunas] to various organizations under various pretexts. Two persons have so far been accused.

Peter Colotka, Slovak prime minister before the 1989 revolution, is accused of abuse of power and his case is to be decided before the end of April 1991.

Investigations of the entry of the five Warsaw Pact states into Czechoslovakia in August 1968 also continue. No one has so far been accused and prosecutors continue to seek a "letter of invitation" of which Leonid Brezhnev spoke several times.

Status of Romanian, Soviet Refugees Reported

LD1503205291 Prague CTK in English 1525 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—There are 1,229 refugees in Czechoslovakia at present, living in eight camps in Bohemia and Moravia, Czechoslovak Government Commissioner for Refugees Michaela Freiova told a news conference here today. As these eight camps are filled up another one will be opened in May. There is also one camp in Slovakia but no one has so far been placed there, she said.

Although the Czechoslovak Finance Ministry allocated this year 200 million crowns [korunas] to the refugee program counting with 3,000 people, the financial situation in camps is complicated. Problems exist especially in health care. In this connection she recalled her recent tour of Belgium, Netherlands, Britain and France during which she was promised medicines and other assistance.

Most of the refugees in Czechoslovakia come from Romania (about 500), Bulgaria (300) and the Soviet Union (155). About 200 persons have already been granted the status of refugees which means they have the same rights as Czechoslovak citizens with the exception of the right to vote. The also do not serve in the Army and can work only under conditions fixed by special regulations for foreigners.

Journalists were also told that the Federal Office for Refugees welcomes the assistance offered by humanitarian organizations and churches as well as by individuals wishing to contribute to the gradual integration of refugees.

USSR's Moiseyev on Troop Withdrawal Talks

AU1703161491 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 13 Mar 91 p 2

[Interview with General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff, by Jerzy Markowski; place and date not given: "Soviet Force To Move Out Starting April"]

[Text] [Markowski] What comments would you make about the talks that you have just held and how would you assess them?

[Moiseyev] I would like to stress very clearly that yesterday's talks with Foreign Minister Skubiszewski provided a basis for pursuing very substantive and detailed talks with the minister of defense of the Republic of Poland on the question of our military's presence in Poland, their withdrawal and transit.

[Markowski] Has a final date been set for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland?

[Moiseyev] I think that a final date for the withdrawal will be fixed during the summit level meeting between Presidents Gorbachev and Walesa. We in the military, the experts and the diplomats, are setting flexible dates that would suit both sides.

[Markowski] Will the transit of the Soviet forces based in Germany proceed by both road and rail?

[Moiseyev] I think that it will be unnecessary to use the roads. As for transportation by rail, it will be used, and primarily sea routes will be used for the withdrawal.

[Markowski] Was the question of our Army buying Soviet equipment also discussed?

[Moiseyev] Yes, that and, above all, future military cooperation, were among the subjects we discussed with the defense minister of the Republic of Poland today. I think that we share similar viewpoints and approaches to forming new structures that are compatible with European security. We realize that our Armies are equipped with very similar weapons, and from the economic angle it would undoubtedly be unwise and an extremely costly undertaking to change things quickly and radically. Quite simply, from the financial angle, it would not be worth it. For my part, I would like to stress that the Polish Army has very up-to-date weaponry for land, sea, air and defense forces. How to use that equipment and protect it from electronic interference is another issue. I would like to add that we will examine our future bilateral cooperation concerning the supply of spare parts in a way that will suit both sides.

Lack of Date of Final Soviet Pullout Criticized

AU1703162191 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 13 Mar 91 p 2

[Piotr Jen commentary]

[Text] The date by which Soviet troops are to leave Poland is the most important unknown quantity in present relations with the USSR. As long as the date remains unresolved, a problem of priority political importance remains unsolved, for Poland is the only country with Soviet troops on its soil with which no conditions for the withdrawal of these troops have been finalized and, more importantly, no final date has been set.

After the talks with General Moiseyev, chief of the Soviet General Staff, we know that the date will be earlier than the one originally suggested by the Soviet side, the middle of 1994; however, the exact date will not be established until the meeting between Walesa and Gorbachev next month. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the Soviet Union is delaying the conclusion of such an important agreement.

The problem is the 30-month time difference between the Polish and Soviet proposed dates. Poland has been ready to hold talks on this subject for a long time. Even a compromise solution, a withdrawal halfway between the two proposals—i.e. in the first half of 1993—would be satisfactory; however, there is still no sign of any willingness on Moscow's part to accept such a solution. Instead, one can see Moscow's desire to combine this matter with the problem of accommodating the troops withdrawn from Poland and the other countries, a problem mainly concerning a shortage of housing.

Obviously, our country cannot accept any financial commitments for solving this problem. In any case, there is money for it—mainly German money. What we can do is help build apartments in the USSR, because our building enterprises have spare capacity. The conditions governing their involvement in this undertaking could be agreed upon, but in no way can one combine this matter with an agreement on the date of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland.

The compromise achieved during the talks with General Moiseyev in Warsaw is not satisfactory. The mere start of the withdrawal of Soviet forces in April does not solve the problem. Without establishing the date by which the withdrawal must be completed, one cannot establish final conditions for the transit through Poland of Soviet troops from the former GDR; therefore the scope of the matter is much broader than Soviet-Polish bilateral relations. This is another reason why Poland is more anxious than the Soviet Union to have a rapid and clear solution to this problem.

Three USSR Convoys Arrive From Former GDR

LD1703185891 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Last night, three Soviet military convoys from former GDR territory reported to Kunowice station in Gorzow Province. Customs clearance took place without any problems. The Soviet convoys possessed all the

necessary documents and were not carrying any radioactive materials or chemical agents. The convoys were directed toward Terespol.

Defense Minister Views Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU1803090091 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 13 Mar 91 p 2

[Interview with Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk by Jerzy Markowski; place and date not given: "Soviet Forces To Be Withdrawn Starting April"]

[Text] [Markowski] What comments would you make about the meeting that has just ended?

[Kolodziejczyk] It was a heated meeting, but one that was constructive at the same time. During today's talks, we discussed bilateral contacts, cooperation, and—this was surely the subject that aroused the most emotion—questions concerning European security in the future, and questions connected with the Vienna agreements, which, as we know, are threatened, because of problems pertaining to their ratification. My impression was that the chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff displayed a desire to achieve rapid progress along this path, and that is very important.

[Markowski] Did you discuss the possibility of inspecting Soviet forces on Polish territory?

[Kolodziejczyk] It was not one of the main issues under discussion, but both sides are aware that in the case of this type of inspection it is difficult to talk about building confidence, and it is difficult to talk about disarmament.

[Markowski] Did you discuss purchasing Soviet weapons for the Polish Armed Forces?

[Kolodziejczyk] Yes, the subject was raised. It is one of the important points, but talks will be continued next week at the expert level. We will have concrete facts once the negotiations are over.

[Markowski] Admiral, it is not just a question of buying, but also of training, as General Moiseyev suggested a moment ago....

[Kolodziejczyk] That is right, and we have to begin by, unfortunately, stating certain obvious facts. One European security system has come to an end. A new one has to be built and it has to be built on the basis of bilateral contacts without any kind of preferential treatment and with the involvement of everyone who is interested. Representatives of the USSR have displayed an interest in developing good-neighborly political relations, and as far as military matters are concerned, they are in favor of continuing cooperation in the military sphere. So, there are parallels with the Czech lands and Slovakia, and with the Republic of Hungary, and it will include training exchanges, joint scientific and research work, and work in other fields. All avenues are open for the development of good, partner-like arrangements with all our neighbors, with all the states in Europe, and even with such large states as the Soviet Union.

[Markowski] To return to the question of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland and the transit question—it would appear that the Soviet side has given up plans to use overland routes.

[Kolodziejczyk] It has not abandoned the use of overland routes entirely, because I am sure that they will want to use the railroads. They want to give up the idea of using roads, however, because that is surely in keeping with the expectations of all the citizens of our state. The Soviet Union's flexible position on this is pleasing, although I would like to stress once again that this was not the main subject of our talks. Our Soviet guests told us what great problems they would experience, beginning with housing. We appreciate all these problems, but we have been stressing that we have our own problems, including housing ones.

[Markowski] Did the upcoming summit visit contribute something to the atmosphere?

[Kolodziejczyk] Undoubtedly. I think things will proceed at a faster pace following this visit.

[Markowski] After his meeting with Minister Skubiszewski yesterday, General Moiseyev talked about beginning the withdrawal of forces from Poland in April or May of this year. Did you discuss this today, and which units would be moved out first?

[Kolodziejczyk] It would seem appropriate at this point to discuss the schedule, which has been prepared in detail for some time now, but there is one thing that I would like to stress—the desire to begin the process by moving out the command of the Western Regional Military Command, which is of great political significance and is surely the right way to begin a complete withdrawal. It concerns the command in Leningrad, which was previously in Swidnice—that is, the highest command body in the theater of operations. Some units have already been withdrawn, [bridging] pontoon battalions, logistics units, and so on, but in this case, the withdrawal will be entirely different in qualitative terms. If there is no command, the grouping ceases to exist. The evacuation of the command will undoubtedly begin in the first half of this year, but there are still no definite decisions to the effect that it will take place in April or May. Concerning the withdrawal of Soviet forces, I hope that next week's negotiations in Moscow will be completed and an appropriate treaty will be signed, but so much progress has been made in preparing and planning the whole operation that April is a realistic date for beginning the process of withdrawing the forces.

General Moiseyev and I agreed that there is no operational justification for the presence of line and combat units on Polish territory. The Soviet side has problems, because there is no physical location to which the units

can be moved and only these problems—in their opinion—are an obstacle to the rapid execution of the operation. Everything else is the subject of negotiations that are still in progress.

[Markowski] Admiral, what exactly has made the Soviet position more flexible?

[Kolodziejczyk] As a private observer of these events, because the Defense Ministry is performing an auxiliary role and the political issues are being settled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the government, my impression is that it was a question of costs. The Soviet Union is struggling with financial problems just as much as we are and that is probably what caused a certain hardening of their position during the first stage of the talks. Right now, it seems that the issue is closer to being resolved amicably on the basis of mutual concessions and mutual flexibility in approaching the issue.

[Markowski] Does the current visit mark the end of the period of arriving at a bilateral agreement with the USSR?

[Kolodziejczyk] General Moiseyev's visit represents the preparation of a bilateral agreement with the USSR. It even settles substantive issues connected with Marshal Yazov's visit, which will undoubtedly take place in the future, but at the moment it is difficult to give a precise date.

Western Governments To Halve Debt Claims

LD1503171891 Warsaw PAP in English 1452 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Paris, March 15—Western governments have agreed to write off half of the 33 billion dollars they are owed by Poland, it was announced after talks between Polish Deputy Finance Minister Janusz Sawicki and representatives of the Paris Club which ended here Thursday night.

"The creditor countries stressed that they were well aware of the exceptional situation of Poland, involved in a transition without precedent towards a market economy, which constitutes a unique challenge, in response to which they are prepared to apply debt restructuring on extraordinary terms," reads a joint communique issued here today.

The debt is to be reduced in two stages. In the first stage, an equivalent of 30 per cent of the debt will be written off by slashing Poland's interest payments by 80 [number as received] for three years. A further 20 per cent of the debt will be reduced in the fourth year upon successful completion of a three-year agreement with the International Monetary Fund which Poland is now finalising.

The Polish side said that some countries had indicated that they could offer Poland even more debt relief on a bilateral basis.

During the talks the Polish also briefed Paris Club members on the current state of Polish economy.

Walesa Receives Messages From Major, Mitterrand

LD1503165391 Warsaw PAP in English 1329 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Poland's President Lech Walesa received letters of invitation from President of France Francois Mitterrand and British Prime Minister John Major to take part in an inaugural meeting of the Council of Governors of the European Development Bank in London on April 15-16.

The meeting in London confirms a new spirit of cooperation between international community and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and supports their strivings for political and economic reforms, the letters read.

Mazowiecki: Willing To Become Prime Minister

LD1603230891 Warsaw PAP in English 2101 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Szczecin, March 16—Former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki told residents of Szczecin today that he would be ready to become prime minister again if his party won the upcoming parliamentary elections.

During the pre-electoral meetings, Mazowiecki, the leader of the Democratic Union, pointed to the need of cooperation with representatives of various political options and stressed that as concerns Poland's foreign policy, the union was for the Europe free from divisions into a poor and a rich one.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki found anti-Semitism regrettable and said he had never looked into anyone's birth certificate. The standards by which he judges people are skills, knowledge, attitude to work and other people, he said.

Mazowiecki met also with Father Kazimierz Majdanski, Bishop Ordinary of the Szczecin-Kamien Pomorski Diocese.

Bielecki on Territorial Organization Changes

LD1503202991 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Krzysztof Bielecki by Krystyna Koziol; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The inaugural meeting of a working group that is to elaborate changes in the territorial organization of Poland has been held in the Office of the Council of Ministers.

[Koziol] We have over 40 voivodships at the moment; you are proposing 12 or more regions.

[Bielecki] A region is not an administrative concept; a region is based on cultural and economic ties. The administrative partitioning that exists to date stemmed from a political play by the authorities that—at various stages and in various ways—wanted to keep their posts. This is the first, basic issue.

The second is that this tendency is gaining in Europe. If we wish to be consistent— not just in the fundamental slogan that aims at European integration—then we must also adapt to certain tendencies, if only to be able to cooperate more easily later on. We want the restructuring process of this country—and this in a spatial sense, as well—to develop in accordance with the restructuring processes of the economy, if we are to be consistent in this long-term goal.

[Kosiol] We have to persuade people, we have to persuade the small voivodships that will not want to give up their voivodship status.

[Bielecki] Not just to persuade, but to find support among them, to find people who will cooperate. I think we will succeed in this. Persuading civil servants is another matter altogether because a civil servant has a slightly different personal interest. On the other hand, a civil servant should feel—first and foremost—a plenipotentiary of the state.

As promised, we must divide. We will change the law on the sharing of payments. A draft is ready. It will be presented to the Council of Ministers on 16 April. If the Council of Ministers approves it in full we will send it to the Sejm. In this way, by handing over power through specific actions, we will strengthen the feeling of independence (?in) local communities.

Walesa Meets New Solidarity Leader, Businessmen

LD1503205791 Warsaw PAP in English 1556 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—President Lech Walesa met at the Belweder Palace here today with new Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski, his successor at the post he had held for 11 years, to discuss the union's activity and its priority tasks related to the protection of the poorest people, parliamentary elections, acceleration of the privatisation process and distribution of free share coupons.

In my opinion the meeting had an optimistic dimension despite the current complicated situation. We agreed that at the moment we have a chance to jump off the bottom, that is to overcome the destabilisation of recent three months, Krzaklewski said after the meeting.

Also today Walesa received representatives of Polish medium-size and small business whose firms have from 300 to several thousand employees and reach turnover exceeding several dozen million dollars per year. The meeting focused on the speeding up of privatisation, the banking system, insurances and tax stabilisation without which it would be difficult to build a stable private sector in this country.

The president told those present that the emerging middle class should make a direct influence on economic legislation and that Poland needed stability and legal guarantess for businessmen.

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FSN Holds National Convention in Bucharest

Convention Opens, Roman Speaks

AU1603142891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/3/1991—National Salvation Front's [FSN] second national convention inaugurated its workings Saturday, 16 March, at Polivalenta Hall in Bucharest.

Attending are delegates from all counties and Bucharest, designated by FSN zonal conventions, as well as numerous guests and representatives of local and international media.

At the opening, Marius Guran, counselor to the president, conveyed the over 2,000 participants the message of the first president of the FSN Steering Committee.

The first all-nation convention of the National Salvation Front after its electoral success, stated FSN leader Petre Roman, has been called to adopt its political programme on the present political background and for the immediate future and to mark the completion of the structuring process by a good organisational pattern both at central and territorial levels. The convention will also elect a new leadership which, in Mr. Roman's opinion, will have to show commitment in solving the most acute problems the country is now facing, so that at the next elections the front should be able to compete like a true party, representing the citizens' aspirations.

1,056 delegates nominated by the FSN zonal conferences that preceded the national convention, about 500 guests representing non-political organisations and trade unions, members of the government and of the diplomatic corps are attending.

Over the two-days' proceedings, the convention will debate a report on organisational aspects, the Front's political programme and will elect the new leadership, steering committee and executive bureau.

With one vote against and 10 abstentions the procedure was adopted for the plenum and the three sections' debates: the Front as a ruling party; economic and social problems; national and international issues. Motions to the political programme and amendments to the statute are also included.

The debates on the FSN's political programme may reveal different options, ideas, as to the course to be taken, stated FSN leader Petre Roman, speaking of the motions to be made in connection with the Front's political programme. He admitted that leaving room for motions triggered controversies and confusion, but opined that this was a truly democratic way. He did not exclude the possibility of alternative programmes that may be proposed. "At this political moment, said Mr. Roman, the national convention of the Front can and must come before the nation as a party capable to assume the responsibility of running the country's affairs. And we must give the picture of this capability in a credible political programme apt to give assurances that, at this difficult moment of transition, responsibilities rest exclusively on the Front's shoulders, that we run the affairs of this country in consensus with as large as possible a part of the people," said the FSN leader.

Party Members Speak; Convention Adjourns

AU1603192591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1610 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/3/1991—"The National Salvation Front [FSN] is not a party that was born of a conjuncture. It was born of a necessity, so it is here to stay," said Reform Minister Adrian Severin in his address.

"If ours is a party that reflects the needs and aspirations" he went on "then we must indentify it with reform, which is, briefly put, the aspiration and the road to political and economic freedom."

Adrian Severin also said that the government's successful performance is actually the Front's successful performance, and that will be its capital in the elections.

The first vice-president of the Front, N.S. Dumitru, spoke about the Front's inner contradictions, as well as those between the Front and the administration, notwithstanding the statements that such contradictions would not exist, and made critical remarks on the political programme put before the convention. He said in context that the market economy should not be an aim in itself, that it should be a means to overcome the legacy of the past, and build a democratic and modern society in Romania. The speaker pleaded for transition to use past investment in production to advantage, for it to concentrate on production, not trade or tourism, with the help of the managers we have. I, for one, am more to the left of the government programme, he said and warned that the market economy shaped by it may lead to "wild capitalism." We must use our capabilites, as well as our intelligence and the emerging democracy in Romania. A third question on which our opinions differ, N.S. Dumitru said, is the social security effort: We may well be accused of being demagogues judging from the way it is conceived in the political programme. "The executive intends to swallow up the FSN" he also claimed and pleaded for the autonomy of the ruling party from the executive power. "We must defend the principle of the separation of powers. The Front is the party of the people who faced the bullets, but we must also learn the lesson of understanding, tolerance and diversity" N.S. Dumitru concluded.

In reference to possible breakups within the National Salvation Front, Petre Roman, the ruling party's leader, told a brief press conference during the FSN's national convention's lunch break: "As you may see, the speculations on possible breakups have not proved true. This does not mean that there may not be interests so divided that the wish for breakup existed in a latent state. The

question is: What does this temptation amount to? Is it a force that may form another viable movement, or is it rather an erratic impulse? There is a great difference between the two, because a breakup has political significance only if it leads to another organised political formula. However, we are definitely past the stage of compromising for the sake of keeping all the trends under one umbrella," Petre Roman emphasised.

The National Salvation Front's convention ended its first day with discussions in its three sections. Sunday a vote is scheduled on the motions put before the convention, the report of the Audit Commission as well as summaries of the sectional discussions, and the election of the Front's Steering Council and Executive Bureau.

Convention Resumes, Roman Presents Program

AU1703170491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1540 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/3/1991—On its second day, the national convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] was opened by the Front's leader, Mr. Petre Roman, who informed the delegates in the attendance of the consultations held overnight and in the morning with a view to working out the new FSN statute. He also said consultations had been held with the leaders of the conventions of the county steering councils as concerned the new leading bodies of the Front. Agreement was shown to have been reached on the fact that the new body should include the leader of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies respectively, as well as the local leaders of the Front.

The political programme of the national convention of the National Salvation Front, which is called "A Future for Romania," was read by Mr. Petre Roman, leader of the Front. It outlines the current and short-term fundamental options of the Front.

Referring to the current stage, Mr. Petre Roman underscored the changes wrought after the revolution showing that the country was faced with a sharp economic crisis. The Romanian prime minister said the current stage would be marked by substantial social costs, important dislocations and ruptures in our society. The present moment is a moment of great efforts and of great pain, which should be assumed explicitly and responsibly, he added.

Outlining the future orientation of the front, Mr. Petre Roman said: Considering the approach to the problems of the nation, the solutions promoted and the social forces the Front addresses and for whose benefit it intends to make the changes, the present motion deliniates a social democratic orientation towards a modern centre-leftist party, apt to lead the process of national rebirth.

Speaking of the Front's fundamental political options, Mr. Roman stated for a definitive break with the old-type society, for the creation of a modern society, oriented towards the future, a society of democracy, of freedom and human rights. The new Romanian society is going to be a democratic society, set on pluralism of social interests and their political expression, on the coexistence of the parties and of alternative governing programmes, the FSN leader said.

As for the economic reform, the Romanian prime minister admitted there would be distortions—including unemployment and inflation—and stated for measures to create new jobs in some sectors, all while effecting lay-offs in others, as well as for control over the price race, so that prices may stay bearable for the citizens.

The Romanian prime minister then spoke about the social reform which is to take place and which will change the way of life of the peasants and of the workers, about the breaks to that reform. Inter alia he referred to the old structures, to growing black marketeering, smuggling, corruption, disbalance of prices and others, things by which some take profit and which only extend this period, implicitly acting as an obstacle to reform.

Referring to the Front's foreign policy options, Prime Minister Roman highlighted that the main target was that of ensuring national independence and sovereignty, the country's territorial integrity, the protection and promotion of national interests.

During the March 17 debates, the plenum of the national convention of the National Salvation Front unanimously adopted a resolution on the national question and inter-ethnic relations in Romania.

The national convention of the National Salvation Front, the resolution reads, acknowledges the need to adopt a firm and coherent principled stance on the national question and inter-ethnic relations in Romania.

The national question and inter-ethnic relations are seen, the resolution shows, in the context of ensuring and observing human rights within a national state to which sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence mean fundamental assets.

Considering the rights of the persons belonging to national minorities as human rights, the FSN militates for the achievement and guarantee of these rights according to relevant international standards.

The FSN firmly rejects shows of extremism, chauvinistic nationalism, separatism and racism and dissociates itself from organizations and parties that promote like options. It will never admit to false ethnic superiority and to the transformation of universal democratic rights into a source of privileges for groups and individuals.

In consideration of the importance of continuous information and analyses of developments in this area, which, in the current international circumstances, may

endanger our very national being, the all-country convention of the FSN decides to create a standing commission within the party to deal with the national question and inter-ethnic relations. The commission shall be in contact with institutions, organizations and political groupings sharing the same concerns.

Resolution on Moldova Referendum Issued

AU1703170591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1645 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/3/1991—On the second day of the proceedings in plenum of the national convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] a statement was unanimously adopted on the March 17 referendum in the Republic of Moldova.

The national convention of the National Salvation Front, the statement reads, notes with deep concern the situation created in the Republic of Moldova in the wake of the organization of the March 17 referendum.

In exercising its sovereignty through its Parliament and government, the Republic of Moldova firmly rejected that referendum.

All this notwithstanding, Union leading bodies violated the sovereignty of the republic and the provisions of the Paris Charter on fundamental human rights, especially the right to free elections, and imposed the referendum, vitiating the consent of the electorate by deploying additional military forces and changing the proportions of the electorate by opening polling stations in army units.

The National Salvation Front considers the use of such practices of force, which try to artificially change the results of the referendum, as undemocratic, as running counter to all the positive processes in inter-European relations.

The national convention of the National Salvation Front expresses its hope that the resolution of the complex problems the USSR encounters will be peaceful and democratic.

We firmly declare, the statement shows in conclusion, that we are at the side of our brothers across the Prut, our brothers to whom we are linked by history, culture, faith and language.

Program Discussed; New Leadership Elected

AU1703183091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/3/1991—After almost a year of quests, discussions, formulations and corrections we have finally arrived at a thorough outlook on transition, which is also internationally acknowledged as viable if we think of the conclusion, on January 24, 1991, of an accord with the International Monetary Fund, said Mr. Mugur Isarescu, governor of the National Bank, during the proceedings of the national convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN]. The international credibility of this programme, the speaker also said, is proved by the fact that, with it as a basis, foreign financing for Romania was deblocked. By implementing the programme agreed upon, this year we are to get a credit worth roughly one billion dollars from the International Monetary Fund and we expect other capital entries worth some two billion dollars in the form of credits, loans and foreign investment.

Echoing the opinion of a fraction of the youth organization of the FSN, Mr. Dan Iosif, senator for the FSN, spoke of the "total collapse of the Front" showing that millions of people had been abandoned. The leading structures of the majority party are characterized by sterility and an incapacity to give answers to the people and to social issues, he said. Referring to the commission for the organization of the national convention, which he dubbed as a commission to arrange the convention, Mr. Dan Iosif said that the respective commission had worked behind curtains, showing lack of transparence, that its proceedings had been attended by people who were not members of the Front even.

Answering him, Mr. Petre Roman, the leader of the ruling party, said that what Mr. Iosif had said was unjust and a lie. To say that the organizing commission was a commission to arrange the convention is unfair and untrue, the FSN leader concluded.

The Front should offer social and national protection not only to the national minorities but also to the Romanians who are in minority in counties with a majority Hungarian population, said Mrs. Ileana Filipescu, FSN representative from Tirgu Mures. She expressed concern over the lack of involvement on the part of the Front in ethnic and inter-ethnic problems which, in her opinion, causes sympathy for the Front among the Romanian population in Transylvania to decline. Condemning the extremist excesses of some of the leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Union, Mrs. Filipescu said that such excesses were not a characteristic of the Hungarian population nor of the Romanian population.

A controversial moment was the address of the delegate of the local organization in Covasna, Mr. Izbasoiu, who criticized the "N.S. Dumitru Report" on the events in Tirgu Mures and deplored the marginalization of the Romanian population in that county. He quoted examples of discrimination against the Romanians in that county and spoke about anti-Romanian shows. He asked the Front to show greater concern for the inter-ethnic problems in Transylvania.

As a politician I was born in the National Salvation Front and I have worked in the National Salvation Front. I want to say I remain with the Front and I assume responsibility within the Front before my office as a prime minister, said Mr. Petre Roman in his address at the end of the discussions in plenum of the national convention of the National Salvation Front in Bucharest.

We have almost nothing of what settled societies have, Mr. Roman went on. We do not have legislative instruments—we are now perfecting them. We do not have a statute of the clerk, we do not have ethics, which is being built in time and which was completely perverted before.

[sentence as received] After the revolution it was turned by many in their own morality, or rather, their immorality, through demagogy. With good reason we were blamed because we did not succeed in changing that apparatus, in bringing in people who are devoted to our programme and to the economic reform. But this is a difficult, complicated thing, because, more often that not, people who are competent in a certain area prove incompetent in another area and become brakes to development. A selection is hard to make. There are criteria but there are no operative means. And this is one of our greatest sufferings.

In his address Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu called the FSN programme and reform social-democratic. We must put an end to the decline of the Romanian economy and we must place industry on stream, the speaker said.

Mr. Dijmarescu stated for a formula to render the economy efficient. As far as social protection is concerned, Mr. Dijmarescu said it was real and intended to reduce the negative effects of the liberalization of prices. We do not intend to restitute anything of the old units and property. He said that Mr. Petre Roman should remain the leader of the Front as a guarantee of the continuity of the reforms worked out by the government but he stated for a division of responsibilities between the executive and the political, so that those responsibilities might be well discharged of.

In the afternoon, the participations in the FSN national convention voted the FSN political program, which was read by the national leader of that organization, Mr. Petre Roman.

With a majority of voted (58 against and 66 unexpressed) the programme was espoused by the delegates to the convention.

Then the new statute was voted by articles, with the observations made during the debates.

The last point in the agenda of the national convention of the National Salvation Front—the election of leading bodies—ended with the election of Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica as executive chairman of the Steering Collegium of the FSN. Announcing that option, Mr. Petre Roman appreciated the moral and professional qualities of the new chairman, showing he would enjoyed full independence as far as decision-making within the party was concerned.

In an address on his election, Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica expressed the political principles which will guide him in the actions that are to commit the FSN to the building of a modern state of law.

In his new capacity, Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica announced that following the adoption by the FSN national convention of the motion suggested by Mr. Petre Roman concerning the Front's political programme, the latter was to become the national leader of that political grouping. His proposal was received with applause.

Then the heads of the ethics and litigations and, respectively, the central control commissions were elected. They are Mr. Ioan Les and, respectively, Mr. Ionel Blaga.

During the break, Mr. Petre Roman answered questions by Romanian and foreign journalists concerning dissident attempts, which he said were insignificant, as well as the division of responsibilities between the FSN executive chairman and the national leader of that party.

Roman Calls Dissidence in FSN 'Insignificant'

AU1703192891 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 91

["Excerpts" of news conference by Prime Minister Petre Roman, National Salvation Front (FSN) leader, with unidentified reporters during a break in the FSN national convention in Bucharest on 17 March—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] During a brief break in the proceedings of the national convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN], Mr. Petre Roman, together with Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica, met with scores of journalists present at the Front's convention.

[Roman] The Front is obviously turning into a party and a stronger political force. It should certainly become more organized, particularly through the contribution of the team led by Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica.

It would be good if the FSN could bring a special nuance in European social democracy. We should not forget that we are actually at the beginning of the road. At this time, our experience with social democracy is more of an inspirational or affective nature, rather than a concrete political experience. After we become more familiar with the experience of Western European democratic parties affiliated with the Socialist International, we intend to search for ways of political action in accordance with this orientation.

[Reporter] What is your opinion about the schism caused by the departure of Messrs. (?Radina) and Lazarescu?

[Roman] Of course, in absolute terms one could talk of a schism; however, if we bear in mind that only 58 out of 1,046 delegations voted against the motion, I believe it is insignificant.

[Reporter] There is no doubt that you have an extraordinarily strong personality; hence the tendency of concentrating and polarizing all the strings of power around you and a very restricted group of people. What can be done to counter such a trend?

[Roman] First, I have never tried to do this in connection with the FSN, although I have been its national leader so far. On the contrary, I did my best to facilitate the birth of new leaders. I am convinced that Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica is such a new leader. Furthermore—as I said in front of the national convention as a sort of statement of belief—the responsibility I am assuming in the Front ranks above that of prime minister; consequently, I believed and believe that it is normal to be present and to exist as a responsible person within the FSN. On the other hand, as I said after Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica became the Front's executive chairman, I think that he should independently assume the mission of organizing and ensuring the functioning of the party.

We have said before, and repeated during the convention, that our only resources are those deriving from the functioning of the economy. As long as the economy is not relaunched, the resources will be modest.

FSN Dissidents Intend To Establish New Party

AU1703204191 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] In as statement to the press—made outside the hall where the National Salvation Front [FSN] was holding its convention—Mr. Velicu (?Radina), former secretary for press and propaganda of this political formation, announced that part of the Front's members intend to set up a party called the National Salvation Front-Social Democratic.

Iliescu Endorses Moldova's President on Referendum

AU1603162391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2357 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/3/1991—Asked to refer to the statements made Thursday evening at the Chisinau [Kishinev] television by Mr. Mircea Snegur and, generally, to the Moscow-led attempts to determine the change of the population's attitude towards the referendum through military force, Mr. Ion Iliescu stated to the ROMPRES national news agency:

"I was very impressed by President Mircea Snegur's answers which emphasise the dramatic trial the population there is subject to and I cannot but agree with him in these difficult moments of the Republic of Moldova.

To try to convince the population by force to participate in a referendum it did not accept is a means that has nothing in common with a democratic exercise. Such a measure is characteristic for the totalitarian regime of sad remembrance. The force has never and nowhere been a substitute of free consent in any relation of collaboration no matter its nature. I am convinced that neither now the use of force could lead to anything viable.

I specially appreciate the sober appeal to calm and firmness emanating from President Snegur's standtaking. It is true, as he says, Moldovans have nobody and nothing to be afraid of because they are at their home."

Moldova People's Front President on Referendum

AU1503181191 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Mar 91 p 2

[Interview with Iurie Rosca, president of the People's Front of the Republic of Moldova, by Ion Zubascu; place and date not given: "If Africa's Decolonization Was Successful, Then Our Cause Can Be Successful, Too"]

[Text] [Zubascu] The date of 17 March could become an historic date for the Romanian people. There are only a few days left until the referendum.

[Rosca] All international documents stipulate that people have the natural right to self-determination. This means that Bessarabia's future depends on the entire Romanian nation! If Africa's decolonization was successful, then our cause can be successful, too! The UN documents and acts are equally valid for us, too. We should use them in a more effective way.

[Zubascu] Then the referendum is our problem as well—meaning those who live on this side of the Prut?

[Rosca] The entire Romanian nation has the right to self-determination, and all Romanians are obligated to contribute to its achievement. There will be no excuse if Bessarabia is ceded again without any kind of resistance. This would be like a curse. No one will forgive us from now on. It is better to capitulate now and admit that we, as a nation, are unable to plead for our great historic truth....

[Zubascu] What is the state of mind in Bessarabia?

[Rosca] There are many who prefer to die than to live in slavery. I am convinced that here and in the country as well there are many who will rise in support of Bessarabia. Recently, a peasant told me: It is so good that the Prut froze, let it be cold, let it freeze, let the ice hold, one never knows what the times might bring!

[Zubascu] Still, the independence of the Republic of Moldova has its adversaries in the Parliament, too.

[Rosca] The number of the population is not equal to the number of those who understand. If people are frightened, it will be very difficult for them to rise. If we are denigrated even by our fellow Romanians who are of the same origin, the simple person will not understand because he will become terribly confused and will say about us: Are they also some thieves who just want power?

[Zubascu] Is this referendum a valid idea from a legal point of view?

[Rosca] We cannot allow the referendum at all because it lacks a legal base. This referendum cannot be organized by an occupier on an occupied territory. If need be, we are ready to organize a referendum on the entire territory of Romania. When one speaks of self-determination, the whole Romanian nation has the right to self-determination, and it is the duty of all Romanians to contribute to it! We are occupied, we are not a country. We cannot hold negotiations with those who occupied us. Why this referendum? It is another way of preserving the empire. Who can achieve self-determination? The Moldovans? This would mean that we recognize the current borders and the current state—that is, we legalize the theft!

[Zubascu] What do you expect from the Romanian Government and from Romania?

[Rosca] The foreign embassies should be continuously "bombed" with documents and Bessarabia's problem should not be a novelty to foreign diplomats. Because the Western countries know almost nothing about us, we must fill up their offices with piles of files so when Bessarabia's problem is brought up at various international fora it will not be a novelty for them. If we reach a dramatic moment, it is important that the country not accept to ceding Bessarabia and accept its subjugation again. To be perfectly sincere, I am sure that President Iliescu could do a lot more for us than he is actually doing, but the same holds true for the opposition parties as well. If difficult times come, both the president and the government of Romania will have to take a peremptory stand. We have this right as legitimate citizens of Romania, of the Romanian state, who are temporarily under Soviet occupation; we have this moral and legal right to put these requests forward and to call on the current Romanian authorities.

We need the country's support!

Wants 'Intensified' Exchange of Information

AU1603162991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0130 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/3/1991—On Friday in Bucharest during a press conference Mr. Iurie Rosca, president of the People's Front [of the Republic of Moldova], manifested his joy to be in Romania especially during this "very difficult period the Romanians in the occupied territories are going through." At the same time he expressed his satisfaction that "lately the Romanian written press, radio and television fully involved themselves in Bessarabia's problem."

Showing that the referendum on the Union Treaty organised by Moscow had already begun in the Soviet occupation military units, in military commisariates and enterprises of unional subordination, Mr. Rosca said that, according to the latest information, in Chisinau [Kishinev] there was a meeting of representatives from Moldovan settlements, who were going to help the Parliament by expressing their opposition to the referendum. "I must say that for us it is not so important how many votes will go to those who want to maintain the Romanian territories in captivity, because international law and the laws of the Republic of Moldova give no juridic support to this act, which is nil from the very beginning."

In his turn Mr. Sergiu Burca, who also attended the press conference on behalf of the People's Front and "Tara" publication of the Republic of Moldova, stressed that village general meetings had been held in 1,277 settlements until 12 March, most of the participants speaking against the referendum. These meetings continued after 12 March as well proving that almost the entire population was against the referendum.

Iurie Rosca stated in favour of intensified exchanges of journalists and information between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, for a better mutual dissemination of the press. Likewise, he asked that support to Bessarabia's cause should be expressed more resolutely at an official level as well.

Parties Continue To Protest Moldova Referendum

Free Republican Party Protests

AU1503134691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1256 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1991—The Free Republican Party, taking note of the events in the Republic of Moldova, supports the Romanian brothers across the Prut who take action for the just cause of the sovereignty and independence of the republic, a statement of the Free Republican Party says.

Our party is against the referendum of 17 March which we regard as void, as an act of defiance of the Moldovans across the Prut, the document goes on requesting the Romanian president and government to take a resolute stand on Bessarabia, North Bucovina and Hertza Land.

PNT-cd Voices Objections

AU1503193691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1825 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1991—The National Christian-Democratic Peasant Party [PNT-cd]—independent—of Romania, with headquarters in Craiova, declares against the referendum organized by the Soviet Union in Moldova which they consider an attempt of "prolonging the forced concentration, between foreign borders, of Bessarabia's and northern Bukovina's territories seized from the Romanian people by the Molotov-Ribbentrop criminal pact, shows a message of protest sent to the ROMPRES national news agency. The aforementioned party demands "the entire Romanian people, the legal bodies, Romania's president, the government, all cultural and cooperation institutions

as well as political parties to assert and proclaim openly, clearly, peremptorily and with dignity that Romania is the country of the Romanians of everywhere and that it is normal, just and absolutely legitimate that all Romanians live freely and independently in the millennary national house of their homeland contoured by its historical borders."

Ecologist Movement Protests

AU1603142991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1100 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/3/1991—Given the situation in the Republic of Moldova, arising from the deployment of additional Soviet troops in its territory, the Students' League of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute called on all pro-democracy youth organisations in the world, particularly on their Soviet fellows, to do everything humanly possible so that events like those in the Baltic republics may not repeat.

On an initiative of the National Peasant Party's Sibiu branch a meeting of solidarity with our brothers from Bessarabia and Bukovina was staged Friday, March 15, in Sibiu's Revolution Square, followed by a March of protest.

"The Ecologist Movement of Romania protests against the displacement of troops to the territory of the Republic of Moldova to put pressure on the population to take part in an unwelcomed referendum," a communique of the Steering Committee of the Ecologist Movement of Romania signed by its president, Toma George Maiorescu, reads.

"Faithful to its spirit of non-violence and promotion of constructive dialogue, the Ecologist Movement of Romania cannot approve of such interference by force in the exercise of sovereignty and supports the stand taken by the Romanian Government," the communique concludes.

"The Civic Alliance learns with grief and revolt about the last events in the Republic of Moldova and follows with concern their development. The fact that, having been rejected by the republic's Parliament, the referendum is still taking place in advance in certain places makes clear the foreign interference in the decision of a republic which declared its sovereignty through its legitimate elected persons," reads a communique sent to the ROMPRES national news agency by the forum of the Romanian civilian society.

The communique expresses the full solidarity and support of the Civic Alliance with the brothers across the Prut, with "their courageous and dignified actions" during "these days of decisive tension between the peoples' will of freedom, of independence and the stubbornness of those who consider themselves as their masters."

Orthodox Church Expresses Concern

AU1603192691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1826 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/3/1991—A communique of the Patriarch's Office reads: "At moments of deep distress for the present and the future of our brothers in Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transdniester and the Trans-Carpathian region, the servants and the faithful of the Romanian Orthodox Church, in passionate prayers to God Almighty, express their deep sympathy and commiseration for the legitimate and staunch wish of their brothers across the Prut to freely decide upon the nature of their relationships with other peoples."

Students of the Faculty of Letters and Sciences at Stephen the Great University's in Suceava protest the Moscow-initiated action of intimidation of the population of the Republic of Moldova, says a note in the local CRAI NOU [NEW VOICE] newspaper, and condemns the deployment of troops in Bessarabia before the 17 March referendum.

A vigil in Iasi's Union Square initiated by the local branch of the Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina Association began yesterday and will continue today and tomorrow, in a show of solidarity of thousands of city residents with the ideals for liberty, independence and sovereignty with their brothers across the Prut.

A meeting of solidarity with the Republic of Moldova was called Saturday in Timisoara's Union Square by the Timis Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum, the Civic Alliance and the Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina Association. Speakers at the meeting, including students from Bessarabia taking the courses of Timisoara higher schools, voiced concern over the Union referendum planned on 17 March and urged respect for a true democracy, self-determination and independence for the Union's republics in agreement with the will of their people. Slogans were chanted against the referendum and against the KGB, for solidarity with the people of the Republic of Moldova.

Several Thousand Bucharesters attended Saturday in Revolution Square in a meeting of solidarity with the Romanians across the Prut called by the Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina Association, the Civic Alliance, the Academic Solidarity Association, the 21 December Associations and other organisations.

The meeting was opened by Gavrila Gheorghe Copil, president of the Bucharest Chisinau [Kishinev] cultural society, and was addressed by many other participants who voiced their disapproval of the Moscow-imposed referendum in the Republic of Moldova branded as an attempt on its sovereignty and independence.

An appeal to all European states, the U.S.A. and Canada was read out which says that "There is in Europe also the Republic of Moldova" and demands that its people be recognised its right to liberty.

Slogans were chanted "Russia is your country, Romania is ours," as well as antipresidential and antigovernmental slogans.

Participants in the meeting staged a march in downtown Bucharest on a route that took them to University Square, Romana Square, Victory Square up to the Soviet Embassy where Gavrila Gheorghe Copil handed an embassy staff a statement of 22 political parties, associations and trade unions which condemns the referendum. The slogans chanted during the meeting were resumed.

No incidents occurred.

Parliament Rejects Referendum

AU1703183591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1646 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/3/1991—The National Liberal Party, the Free Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Romanian Democratic Party and the National Democratic Party released communiques and statements protesting against the referendum in the Republic of Moldova, which was rejected both by the Parliament in Chisinau [Kishinev] and by most of the citizens of that republic.

Meetings of solidarity with the cause of the Romanians across the Prut were held in the towns of Iasi and Suceava on Sunday.

The participants in the meeting in the Union Square in Iasi, which was called by the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" Association, declared for a joint session of the Parliaments of Romania and of the Republic of Moldova, to be held on March 27, to officially denounce the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, against the creation of a Soviet consulate in Iasi and for the removal of the memorial of the Soviet soldier in that town, which should be replaced with a memorial to the Romanian heroes who died to liberate Bessarabia in the Second World War.

The participants in the meeting in Suceava, organized upon the initiative of the local branches of the Civic Alliance, the Anti-Totalitarian Democratic Front and the "Pro Democracy" Association, demanded in a letter to the Parliament, to President Iliescu and to Romania's Government that the passivity currently shown to the fate of the Romanians beyond the borders, especially those in Bessarabia and Bukovina, should be given up, that a new policy should be promoted starting with the denunciation of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty.

Anniversary of 1848 Commemorated in Bucharest

Hungarian Ambassador Attends Celebration

AU1503145691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1333 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1991—Now in Miercurea Ciuc to attend the events in Harghita County commemorating the heroes of the 1848 revolution, Mr. Erno Rudas, ambassador of the Republic of Hungary in Bucharest, met with the county prefect, Mr. Emeric Pataki.

In the morning the ambassador laid floral wreaths at the memorial of the 1848 heroes and the statues of Nicolae Balcescu and Sandor Petofi in the town of Sfintu Gheorghe, Covasna County.

UDMR Leader Comments on Brotherhood

AU1503163691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1527 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1991—"The Hungarian population of Harghita County wishes to commemorate the 1848 Hungarian revolution on March 15 every year," Mr. Ferenc Szekedi, leader of the Ciuc branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR), said. "That revolution," he further explained, "was part of an ample movement promoting the ideas of liberty, democracy and brotherhood among nations. History has taught us that all the 1848 revolutionaries' ideals were not fulfilled due to historical circumstances, to some faults no revolution can be free of. What we are celebrating now is, in fact, the wish for liberty, democracy and equality, without hurting the feelings of any other people.

"I am firmly convinced that such commemorative rallies should be for us a new occasion to reassert that here, in Miercurea Ciuc, where the majority population is Hungarian, we wish to co-exist peacefully, in a climate of respect of individual and community rights. There is no other way for us except the progress to democracy, to a civil society where all inter-ethnic conflicts, springing either from some realities or from political interests, may end. It is our hope that, same as we have participated in the Romanian people's national holiday, the Romanian population will accept to take part in our celebration," the UDMR leader concluded.

Religious Services Held

AU1603161591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0131 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/3/1991—Friday afternoon Miercurea Ciuc City hosted events commemorating the year 1848. Floral wreaths were laid during a ceremony at the statues of Nicolae Balcescu and Sandor Petofi on behalf of the County Prefecture, the Hungarian Embassy in Romania, the City Council, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR]—Ciuc Zone, local UDMR organizations, free unions a.o.

Wreaths were also laid, religious services, poetry recitals and musical shows were performed throughout the county. Events commemorating the year 1848 were also arranged on Friday in Bihor and Covasna Counties.

On his way to Miercurea Ciuc Hungary's ambassador to Bucharest stopped in Sfintu Gheorghe where he laid

floral wreaths at the Memorial to the Fighters for Freedom in 1848-1849 in the central park of the town and at the busts of Nicolae Balcescu and Gabor Aron.

A commemorative rally was held in the afternoon on the small stadium of the city.

Controversy Surrounds Festivities in Arad

AU1703213591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Mar 91 p 3

[Peter E. Kovary report: "Vatra Even Finds Enescu Suspicious—The Prefect and the Classics"]

[Text] Initially, the prefect of Arad County had banned the festive concert planned for Friday, 15 March [commemoration of 1848 Hungarian uprising against the Habsburgs], but on the afternoon of Wednesday, 13 March, he gave his permission. As it stands right now, the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] will organize a commemorative program in the grand hall of the Arad house of culture on 15 March. The program will include works by the composers Bartok, Liszt, and Enescu, and the Hungarian college choir will perform Petofi poems put to music, as well as Ady poems in Romanian.

On Tuesday, 12 March, the Arad branch of the RMDSZ had been told by the philharmonic that the orchestra would not perform the concert because of the prefect's attitude. The RMDSZ immediately began negotiating with relevant officials. Last night, it even met with the leadership of the local Vatra Romaneasca branch to discuss the issue. If all else fails, then the RMDSZ is ready to organize a joint commemoration with the Kolcsey Society, an exclusive festive gathering that would be held in one of the private rooms of the Minorita Palace. If even that should prove to be impossible, then the significance of 15 March, 1848, will be remembered during vespers.

The RMDSZ had discussed the program well in advance with Ghiorghiof Titus, mayor of Arad, who had agreed to the concert. It was probably as a result of the Vatra Romaneasca's Arad appeal that the prefect of Arad decided to ban the festive concert.

In Arad, Vatra Romaneasca launched a campaign against the commemoration of 15 March in good time. On Saturday, 9 March, Vatra Romaneasca published an appeal in Arad's Romanian-language newspaper, warning about "the machinations of chauvinistic Hungarians who want to destabilize the country." In its appeal, the chauvinistic Vatra Romaneasca organization emphasized that the celebration of 15 March was out of place in Romania. The appeal also condemned the Romanian circles that—according to Vatra Romaneasca—"threaten Romania's unity and sovereignty under the cover of a common European house."

The Arad branch of the Vatra Romaneasca has called upon the local police force and the mayor's office to withhold their permission for any kind of performance or gathering, because these would "hurt the feelings of the Romanian people and would provoke a definite retaliation from the majority of the population."

President Jovic Announces Resignation

AU1503211791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1914 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Statement by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic after three-day Presidency session in Belgrade on 15 March—recorded]

[Text] Citizens of Yugoslavia, I am addressing you after the three-day session of the SFRY Presidency, which in its function of Armed Forces Supreme Commander, did not accept the assessments of the situation in the country nor the decisions that were proposed by the headquarters of the Armed Forces.

The country is in the critical stage of breaking up via the fait accompli policy being systematically carried out by separatist forces that disregard the constitutional system of the country and the national and civil rights of others. This threatens to bring us into direct interethnic clashes and a civil war.

Some have already prepared and armed themselves for this. Others believed that their rights and freedoms will be guaranteed by the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. The SFRY Presidency has been persistently (?insisting) on the respect of constitutionality and legality, on solutions being sought in political ways taking into account the constitutional procedure and the interests of all. It has insisted that the policy of fait accompli and threats to the interests of others made by unilateral decisions be opposed with all constitutional means available to it. Unfortunately, this was not taken into consideration.

The political talks on the future of the country have not produced any tangible results so far. On the contrary, it appears that they were used by some to fool the public while at the same time striving to carry out the plans on breaking up the country with one-sided legal and political decisions and by putting other before a fait accompli.

Such acts are that much more unacceptable when one knows that the SFRY Presidency has never in any way denied the right of every nation to self-determination, including the right to secession, but through a constitutional and legal procedure without majoritarianism and threatening other peoples' interests.

The policy of fait accompli has led to the constitutional and federal laws being suspended in some parts of the country, which directly threatens the national and civil rights they guarantee.

Arms have been acquired on a national and party basis. Republican armies are being set up. Counter actions to arm and form national military units are being announced by other peoples. Interrepublican intolerance has intensified to the extreme. Mistrust in interethnic relations has grown, chauvinism and revanchism have flared up. Fear reigns among the people.

The totally divided information field and the media war are of such an intensity that it seems we are talking about parties at war.

The continuation of the policy of usurping somebody else's rights with unilateral decisions has created a real danger of interethnic clashes and a civil war breaking out soon. The grave social situation caused by the catastrophically wrong economic policy of the Federal Executive Council, which led to the bankruptcy of the entire society, represents an especially favorable atmosphere for even greater discontent and confrontations.

The assessment by the Supreme Command Armed Forces was that these negative currents must energetically be stopped so conditions could be created for the intensification of a democratic dialogue aimed at overcoming the economic, political, and constitutional crisis of the country, and the future setup of Yugoslavia.

The JNA, that is the armed forces of the country, do not have the task nor the intention to interfere in political life or influence political decisions on the future of the country. Their task is to guarantee and ensure peace and normal conditions for decisionmaking on the political future of the country and a democratic, balanced way out of the crisis.

The top representatives of the JNA have stressed on several occasions, and this has been confirmed by the SFRY Presidency as the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, that regardless of what kind of decision on the political future of Yugoslavia is adopted, the Armed Forces will respect it.

For the Armed Forces to (?perform their role), considering that the (?front) of potential interethnic clashes has widened and the tasks of the Army increased, the headquarters of the Supreme Command of Armed Forces proposed raising the Armed Force's state of readiness. That did not imply the right of the Army to any kind of military action without a special order by the SFRY Presidency, but only increasing readiness to carry possible orders.

The headquarters' proposals boil down to two basic stands: first, to undertake measures of readiness in the Armed Forces that will guarantee the prevention of interethnic armed clashes and the breaking out of a civil war, and ensure conditions for a peaceful, democratic denouement of the Yugoslav crisis based on the constitution and laws; and second, to undertake resolute measures with the aim of returning the disturbed defense system of the country into the constitutionally determined framework.

The SFRY Presidency did not endorse such approval despite all the arguments of the headquarters of the supreme command. The reason for opposing these decisions, in my opinion, is the fact that the prevailing view among the majority members of the SFRY Presidency was that the further course of events in the country

should be left to the policy of fait accompli despite the fact that it was clear that this is leading to a civil war.

I also think that by rejecting the proposals of the headquarters of the supreme command, the members of the supreme command expressed obvious mistrust in the Armed Forces of the country.

Faced with the fact that the prevailing forces in the SFRY Presidency do not care about the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the country, that they are inclined to support the breaking up of the country in an unconstitutional and undemocratic way, that they are trying to tie the hands of the JNA as the last Yugoslav institution that could guarantee conditions for a peaceful and democratic denouement of the crisis, and bearing in mind the oath that I took on accepting this post, I inform the public that I am not prepared to be an accomplice to such decisions that contribute to the destruction of the country with possible catastrophic consequences for our citizens and peoples.

Therefore, I have decided to submit my resignation to this post believing that this is the most honest thing to do and in accordance with my conscience. Thank you.

Assembly Receives Resignation

LD1603015191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2343 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] In view of the enormous interest of the public in the statement by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic given to Belgrade television, SFRY Secretary General Anton Stari has called on President Jovic to make a statement.

Jovic stated that he had lodged a written letter of resignation from the post of member of the SFRY Presidency with the Serbian Assembly.

In keeping with this, in accordance with Article 324, Paragraph Six of the SFRY Constitution, the office of member of the SFRY Presidency ceases for Jovic with his release by the Serbian Assembly. With the release of Jovic from the office of member of the SFRY Presidency, he also ceases to be president of the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Presidency Information Office says in the statement.

FEC Vice President Criticizes Jovic

AU1603190291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Last night's session of the Federal Assembly is a sign that there is no vacuum in the normal functioning of the state and that there is no need for anything in place of regular institutions. This was stated by Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], who was interviewed on Slovenia Radio. He stressed that among the members of the government, there are no differences in views.

Pregl described the resignation of SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic as a statement that is causing unrest, confusion, and panic. Pregl emphasized that these arguments erroneously describe the situation and the possibilities and methods that could lead to the denouement of the crisis.

Federal Presidency Session on Jovic's Resignation

LD1603213491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2102 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency, at its session today presided over by Vice President Stipe Mesic, examined the position and tasks of the Presidency in the framework of the current political situation and in connection with the resignation of SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic. The session was convened at the request of SFRY Presidency member Vasil Tupurkovski on the basis of Article 25, Paragraph 1 of the statute on the SFRY Presidency and with the authorization of President Borisav Jovic.

The session was also attended by the SFRY Assembly president and by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] president.

Performing its constitutional duties and responsibilities and proceeding from objectively complex problems in the country, the Presidency again emphasized that these problems can only be solved by democratic means. The Presidency insists on the intensification of talks on the future organization of the Yugoslav community and calls on all republics and provinces—namely their representatives as well as bodies of the federation—to make their contribution to democratic and equal dialogue and to the more effective agreement on the organization of relations and joint interests within the Yugoslav community. The Presidency supported the efforts of the FEC to secure implementation of necessary functions of the federation in the transition period.

The Presidency views the resignation of the President of the SFRY Presidency as a personal act. Nevertheless, the Presidency does not accept the assessments made in the explanation of the resignation.

At the 12, 14, and 15 March Presidency sessions, the Presidency respected the assessments of the Supreme Command Headquarters on the difficult situation in the country. Accordingly, they opted in a democratic way for the use of political means and called for a democratic dialogue between the legitimate subjects in the country and the republics as the only realistic way of overcoming this situation, in keeping with the interests and civic needs of our citizens, nations, nationalities, republics, and provinces.

The Presidency is convinced—and will actively work toward this in keeping with its constitutional authority—that only a return to democratic dialogue, accompanied by the calming of political and national tensions as well

as the propaganda war, can at this moment enable a peaceful and constitutional outcome of the crisis.

The Presidency will request the convening of a session of the SFRY Assembly to inform it of the talks on the future relations in the Yugoslav community and on the situation that has arisen.

The Presidency also concluded that it should hold a session as soon as possible with the participation of the presidents of the republics, or rather the presidents of the Presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces, on the current political situation in the country, the SFRY Presidency statement concludes.

Loncar: 'No Reason' for State of Emergency

LD1503185791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1357 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar on Friday stated that the Yugoslav Government was convinced that there was no reason for the introduction of an emergency state in the country.

"On the contrary, stepping up the democratic process in the state was needed," he told a press conference.

Regarding the unrest in Serbia over the past few days, Loncar assessed that Yugoslavia was "mature enough to solve problems in a democratic manner, through dialogue and by respecting opposing views."

In illustration Loncar cited the latest session of the multi- party assembly of Yugoslavia's largest republic of Serbia, the meeting on Wednesday of the United Opposition of Serbia in Belgrade which passed without any incidents as well as the democratic demonstrations of students also in Belgrade which ended in the night of Wednesday-Thursday.

Foreign Secretary Loncar said that he did not doubt that the session of the Yugoslav Presidency in Belgrade, which is in its second day of discussing the state of security in the country as the supreme commander, "will have an outcome which will be in keeping with the Yugoslav Constitution. No outcome which might alter the course and process of democratization in the country should be expected," he said.

The Yugoslav People's Army has no pretensions to present itself as arbiter to society, Loncar continued, but it has the right to its own opinion about the internal stability of the country, as well as the right to present this opinion to the Yugoslav Presidency. "Nevertheless, the Yugoslav Presidency has the final say on this," the federal secretary pointed out.

"Personally, I was not happy to see the Army in the streets of Belgrade, although I do not doubt the good intentions of the Army and the presidency. The idea was to demonstrate force which calls to law and order, but without resorting to arms," Loncar said.

The federal secretary underscored that the Yugoslav Government "urges that all problems be resolved by democratic means, through dialogue and in assemblies, parties, and even—demonstrations."

Loncar assessed that the latest developments and their unpleasant consequences have harmed Yugoslavia's prestige in the world. "However the final outcome will have great consequences on democratization, and all of this together will help our prestige in the world," he said.

Finally, asked to comment the wish of the Serbian nation, the most numerous in Yugoslavia, to live in one state, Loncar said that Europe is moving towards the abolishment of internal borders. "When this is realized, all nations will live in one state," Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Loncar concluded.

Mesic Declares Himself Acting President

LD1503210491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2058 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—Stipe Mesic, vice-president of the Yugoslav State Presidency and its member from the Republic of Croatia, stated that he would become acting president after tonight's resignation by President Borisav Jovic.

Mesic told the Belgrade ITV Studio B that he would automatically become president officially after May 15.

Mesic said that he had heard of Jovic's resignation at the same time as other citizens, during his TV address to the nation, but that it had not come unexpectedly to him, since Jovic remained in minority in today's vote in the state Presidency, meeting in its capacity as supreme commander of the armed forces. "Having announced that he would draw the consequences from this fact, he probably did and submitted his resignation," added Mesic.

The presidency today rejected a proposal by the staff of the supreme command of the Armed Forces to raise the level of the forces' alert.

Constitutional Questions Raised

LD1503224291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2127 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—In a statement to TANJUG, Budimir Kosutic, a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly and full-time lecturer at Belgrade's Law Faculty, stresses that in the SFRY Constitution of 1974 not a single word regulates what exactly happens if the state president resigns and who in fact should accept the resigiation. In these last 17 years, the time during which the still valid constitution has been in force, no president of the Presidency has tendered his resignation.

Kosutic recalled Article 328 of the 1974 Constitution in which, inter alia, it is stressed that the vice president of

the SFRY Presidency takes over the post of president when the leader is prevented from doing so, or is absent for a long time. Otherwise, in Article (324), it is expressly stressed that the office of a member of the SFRY Presidency ceases at the moment when the assembly of his republic, in this case the Serbian Assembly relieves him of his office.

Should the Serbian Assembly fail to approve the resignation, and does not relieve Jovic of his office as a member of the SFRY Presidency he will, at least formally, remain a member of the highest state body. It should also be recalled that the Yugoslav Assembly only proclaims members of the state Presidency, and that in the history of the collective leadership of the country only members of the Presidency, and not the president himself, have been changed. Dragutin Zelenovic, who was elected as prime minister of Serbia, was recently replaced by Jugoslav Kostic from Vojvodina in this way.

In this instance, Kosutic asks if the statements by Stipe Mesic, that he is taking over the office of president of the SFRY Presidency, are not premature. Kosutic emphasizes that in the 1974 Constitution, which is still in force, the question of the replacement of a Presidency president who resigns is not regulated.

Official Comments on Jovic's Successor

AU1603160591 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Radovan Skoranovic, secretary of the SFRY Assembly Commission for Constitutional Matters, said regarding President Jovic's resignation that according to the Constitution it is sufficient for the president to tender his resignation to the assembly that elected him as a member of the federal presidency—in this case, the Serbian Assembly.

This act also implies the end of his position as SFRY Presidency president from the day the resignation of this post is accepted by the Serbian Assembly.

The Presidency post belongs to Serbia until 15 May of this year, provided that the Serbian Assembly opens and speeds the process of the election of a new member of the SFRY Presidency from this republic. The election of this member of the SFRY Presidency from Serbia also means the proclamation of his election as a member of the federal Presidency in the federal Assembly.

According to Article 324 of the SFRY Constitution, if a member of the SFRY Presidency leaves office before the end of the term of office to which he had been elected because he has tendered a resignation, he is replaced. The post of a member of the SFRY Presidency is filled until the election of a new member in the SFRY Assembly, by the Serbian president [as heard] or an autonomous province. In this case, this is the Serbian president.

Jovic's Resignation Discussed at Special Session

AU1603022891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0200 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] At its extraordinary session in Belgrade the federal government has been discussing a single item for three hours: The resignation of Borisav Jovic as SFRY Presidency president.

Sources close to the federal government report that the main topic being discussed at the session is the explanation for Jovic's resignation. In his explanation Jovic condemned the federal government's policy for having brought the Yugoslav economy to the verge of bankruptcy.

Izetbegovic, Kucan on Resignation

AU1503233391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2204 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Dragoslav Kosaric report]

[Text] Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Slovene President Milan Kucan are attending the Celje festival in (?Dobrna), in Slovenia, together. After SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic's resignation was publicly announced Izetbegovic and Kucan issued statements.

[Kosaric] Upon hearing the news that Jovic had resigned, the Celje festival, was interrupted.

At an improvised news conference held immediately afterwards, Kucan said that this decision represents a new aggravation and pressure in this difficult and dramatic situation, something that shows that there is no readiness to solve the political crisis in Yugoslavia in a democratic way. In Kucan's opinion, this resignation cannot be separated from the announcement of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army that failed to accept the decisions of the majority of the SFRY Presidency members to continue democratic [word indistinct] peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

In Kucan's opinion, what is unexpected is not this resignation, but its reason. According to him, it would have been more logical if President Jovic tendered his resignation in protest against the General Staff failing to respect the decisions of the Supreme Command. The behavior of the General Staff is unacceptable in a democratic and law-governed state.

Kucan reiterated the Slovene position that the responsibility for peace and order is above all held by the republics on their territories. Kucan said that regardless of the situation being dramatic, the need remains to continue political dialogue among the republics, which is the only way to solve the political crisis. He added that Slovenia would like to carry out its separation [razdruzenje] from Yugoslavia in a peaceful way.

Commenting on Jovic's resignation, Izetbegovic said that Jovic's insistence that the Army take part in solving the political crisis has been unfounded (?from the very

beginning). We do not see what is being threatened in Yugoslavia and there is no need or justified reasons to include the Army into solving the political problems, he said.

According to Izetbegovic, what is threatened are the remnants of the old totalitarian system in the country, and in his opinion, Jovic wanted to use the Army to defend these remnants of the outdated system. Just like Kucan, Izetbegovic spoke in favor of the continuation of inter-republican talks through political dialogue without the use of force.

The Army will not resort to any radical moves after this resignation, Izetbegovic said at the Celje festival in (?Dobrna). Both Kucan and Izetbegovic positively assessed the fact that Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic convened a government session tonight.

Jovic's Resignation Called 'Just a Ploy'

LD160313529l Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Dusko Mandic report from Belgrade on 16 March]

[Text] Following the resignation or probable non-resignation [neostavka] of SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, the situation is becoming clearer, although experts knew what was happening even before the resignation. Two conceptions of state have been in conflict. The one is European, the other inward looking. Although within the Presidency there is some resistance to the first conception—and votes showed who is on which side—the Federal Government is firmly standing by the FEC [Federal Executive Council] orientations that President Ante Markovic outlined during his days as prime minister designate.

The assessment here is that the Presidency president does not want to leave and that the tendered resignation is just a ploy to stir up certain forces, which would return Jovic spectacularly strengthened to the political arena. As support for this, observers here cite the interpretation that he will step down from his post only when the Serbian Assembly, which appointed him in the first place, relieves him from the post. Until the Assembly is in session and decides to relieve him, if it does relieve him at all, he will remain. When the Serbian Assembly will meet depends on the assessment of the political situation and choosing the right moment.

In the meantime, the crucial developments must occur. This is a rally [words indistinct] on Usce, which is just starting. It is normal to expect—and democratic people must respect everyone's views—that the meeting will give full support to Jovic.

Regarding the Army, the Federal Government is of the view—according to reliable sources—that the greater part of the Army is not against the Federal Government. True, there is a conflict between the government and a part of the Army, but, my sources claim, this is a substantially smaller part of the Army; furthermore, as far as the Army leadership is concerned, that proportion is even smaller. If there is any danger [from military intervention], then it comes more from lieutenants than generals, although we cannot speak about unity at any level of the Army.

What is at stake? As a result of a constitutional ambiguity, Army loyalties are divided. The Federal Secretariat for National Defense is torn between the Federal Government, where it is one of the most important departments, and the SFRY Presidency, which is its supreme commander. Some want to put the Army solely under the command of the SFRY Presidency, which is contrary to all constitutional regulations, and thus Yugoslavia would become the only country in the world where the government is without a defense ministry or has one only on paper.

As illustration of the claim that the Army is not against the government is the rumor that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense denied a statement made by its Information Service. It is also clear that a significant number of officers are not quite sure what to think, but assessments are that they are closer to the government than to the Presidency, that is, a minority faction of the Presidency that wants to introduce the state of emergency.

It can be expected today, although it is not certain, that demonstrators will march on the FEC building and try to extract the solution wanted by communists. The Federal Government is located in the Federation Palace, as well as the Presidency, and the Palace is not far from Usce. What counts as Usce, where demonstrations can be held in keeping with the city regulations, is unclear. Some believe that the entire area between the rivers Sava an Danube as Usce.

The government does not want to leave the building and is staying inside. Even if it were not in session and if it had nothing to do, and it has plenty on its hands, it would stay there. I must tell you something else. The government, apart from the topical issues, is resolving long-term problems, as if nothing is happening, believing firmly that there are no dangers on our borders, that there are no internal, intraethnic conflicts, and that there are no reasons for activating Army units. Of course, one should be careful in the face of provocations. Therefore, the FEC does not even consider the possibility of a military coup. As far as Jovic's resignation, the government claims that at the moment there is no legal vacuum in the state. Even if the Presidency did not exist, because there is a legally-elected Yugoslav Assembly and its executive body—the FEC—the government would still go on with the implementation of its program. Everyone should know that the situation must calm down.

A few hundred meters from the government building, where at the moment the government is in session under

[Prime Minister] Ante Markovic's stewardship, a communist rally is starting. We shall know its results soon.

Papers Review, Speculate on Jovic's Resignation

LD1703020691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2310 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—The resignation of Yugoslav Presidency president Borisav Jovic is "a collapse of the policy of threats," says Sunday's issue of Macedonian daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA.

The paper charges President Jovic (Serbia's representative in the Presidency) of "consciously enhancing the further dramatization of the situation in the country."

NOVA MAKEDONIA says that Jovic has left in doubt Yugoslavia's citizens about the true motives of his resignation.

According to the most ominous forecasts, the paper says, the aim is to provoke international disorder which would led to civil war and, in that case, as the Supreme Command said, the army would have to become involved.

However, the paper believes that not everything is so tragic because, although the Presidency has stopped functioning, state affairs will be conducted through the legislature and government.

The daily VJESNIK, Republic of Croatia, reports in tomorrow's issue that the resignation of President Jovic is a "transparent political manoeuvre intended at provoking a paralysis of the state leadership of the country."

The aim of this manoeuvre, the daily assesses, is to "enable [words indistinct] of generals to take over command of Yugoslavia and then to declare himself sole president."

Jovic decided to take this step, VJESNIK maintains, in order to maintain the "shaken state of his republic" and to "prevent the end of the heretofore Communist federation."

Radio Pristina, of the Serbian Province of Kosovo, assesses on this evening's commentary that the "policy of fait accompli which is forced by the leaders from the country's northwest in league [words indistinct] Macedonia and Kosovo, is actually making plans without asking those concerned."

The commentator points out that the Serbian nation gave three million lives in the two world wars, that it liberated and created Yugoslavia, and that it will not let others place it in an inferior position now.

Resignation, Milosevic's Statement Viewed

LD1703104791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0936 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 17 (TANJUG)—After the resignation of Yugoslav State Presidency President Borisav Jovic on Friday night and the televised address of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on Saturday evening, Yugoslavs are in a state of expectation of what might follow.

The Milosevic address could be found on the front pages of most Yugoslav dailies on Sunday. On Saturday evening he announced that Serbia would no longer recognize the decisions of the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

The daily BORBA describes Milosevic's statement as "dramatic" and headlines it by saying "Serbia Does Not Recognize Any Decisions of the Yugoslav Presidency."

The daily POLITIKA published the statement under the headline saying "Serbia for Yugoslavia". The subtitle contains Milosevic's assessment that the "plan for breaking up Yugoslavia has entered the final stage, that it was being carried out at the expense of the vital interests of the Serbian people and that patriotism of all our peoples was on test."

The daily OSLOBODJENJE, from Sarajevo (Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina), also front-paged Milosevic's statement entitling it "I Have Ordered Mobilization."

The daily VJESNIK in its first issue records briefly Milosevic's statement as "Milosevic Orders" and in other editions carries the integral statement entitled "Serbia Will Not Recognize a Single Decision of the Presidency."

VECERNJI LIST, also a Zagreb daily, carries the statement under the title "Milosevic Mobilizes Police."

The central place in the Sunday press is given also to the reply of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at a meeting in Croatia in which he accused Serbian President Milosevic of preparing "personal dictatorship, wishing, mostly likely to influence the decisions of the general staff of the Supreme Command." [sentence as received]

VJESNIK cites Tudjman's words "should the need arise, we will call on the entire people."

BORBA of Belgrade carries Tudjman's speech under the headline "Culmination of Crisis," while VECERNJE NOVOSTI describes Tudjman's speech in its headline as "Ultimatum to Serbs."

Democratic Party Denies Jovic's Resignation

AU1703144391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] The Democratic Party denies the report carried by VECERNJE NOVOSTI that Borisav Jovic had tendered

his resignation as member of the SFRY Presidency after holding consultations with the leaders of the ruling and opposition parties in Serbia. It is said in the announcement that the Democratic party assesses Jovic's resignation, we quote, as a method of autocratic decisionmaking by a narrow circle about the fate and lives of millions of our citizens.

Belgrade Calm Following Jovic's Announcement

LD1603031691 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Dusko Mandic report]

[Excerpts] There is no evidence, at least publicly in the center of Belgrade, of any excitement over the resignation of the president of the Yugoslav Presidency. Following several turbulent nights, the streets tonight are almost empty with the young people indulging in the same kind of activities as their peers elsewhere in Europe at the beginning of a weekend.

The news about Jovic's resignation failed to hit the front pages of the early editions of tomorrow's papers. This was my main impression from the streets of Belgrade.

I then continued to the International Press Center, which was full of foreign journalists. Foreigners are not quite sure that the resignation should be taken seriously, because the text of the resignation does not mention the word "irrevocable." This is being interpreted as a desire to eventually come back. One of the instruments to facilitate the comeback is a Communist-led meeting scheduled for 1300 later today at Usce in Belgrade. It is expected that the initiative will be set in motion from there to reinstate Jovic in his current office. [passage omitted]

Better informed circles are of the view that all the other members of the Presidency who were in the minority could also resign. These sources, which are always careful about what they say, expect Nenad Bucin to be the first after Jovic to resign.

There is also a controversy about the president's heir. Under one possible interpretation, the resignation can follow a decision by, in this case, Jovic's republic [Serbia] to withdraw him from the Presidency. In that case, he would be replaced by another member, as in the case of Dragutin Zelenovic who was replaced by Jugoslav Kostic. [passage omitted]

Mesic Expects Army To Respect Constitution

LD1603012791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0002 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 15 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the [words indistinct] Yugoslavia Stipe Mesic this evening said he expects the armed forces to [words indistinct] to comment on what the future moves of the army leadership might be. Mesic said he does not know, but that the military leadership will enforce the law and the Constitution the only way it can.

'I believe that they are reasonable people and that they understand that only by enforcing the law and the consitution can we finalize our consultations on the future reorganization of the country in a peaceful and democratic way', Mesic said, on eve of his visit to Belgrade.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia is to convene in a session during the night. Mesic said he has convened the session 'in order that there should [words indistinct] a vacuum and that work should proceed as usual'.

He added he does not know if Jovic has 'resigned the post of president or membership of the Presidency. Accordingly, in order that there should be no misunderstanding, we must clarify this in the shortest possible time'.

Asked how it is that he has assumed, so to speak, the role of acting president, Mesic replied: 'I am the vice-president and Jovic the president by rotation. Now that he has tendered his resignation, the state cannot be without a president'.

'In this case, when there is a vice-president, he carries on the duties of president until a new president should be elected. All we have here is a time, so to speak, as it is two months to the election of new president and the matter will probably be resolved in the way that the vice-president shall discharge these duties until the election of new president', Mesic said.

Chief of General Staff Reportedly Resigns

LD1703011791 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0100 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Let us also mention in the context of resignations that, according to unconfirmed reports, General Blagoje Adzic, the Yugoslav People's Army Chief of General Staff, has also resigned.

Secretariat Denies Resignation

LD1703124191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1204 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade 17 Mar (TANJUG)—In connection with the news broadcast on several occasions by Croatian radio that Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the general staff of the Armed Forces, allegedly resigned, the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has been authorized to announce the following:

This is a crude lie and a complete fabrication. It is an attempt to compromise the Army and destroy trust in the Army leadership. The Yugoslav People's Army leadership is, as it has always been, completely united in the

assessment of both the very difficult situation in the country and the measures regarding this that need to be taken.

Presidency Session Opens; Kadijevic Absent

LD1603192891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—TANJUG has learned that a session of the SFRY Presidency is under way in the Federation Palace. Apart from [SFRY Presidency] Vice President Stipe Mesic, the session is being attended by Presidency members Bogic Bogicevic, Janez Drnovsek, Vasil Tupurkovski, and Riza Sapundziju.

Also invited to the session are SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic; Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic; and Federal Secretary for National Defense Velko Kadijevic, who did not come to the session.

Only Jovic Can Call Session

AU1603002491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0000 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Borisav Jovic's post as a member of the SFRY Presidency will cease when the Serbian Assembly releases him from this duty according to Article 324, Paragraph 6 of the SFRY Constitution.

According to this, by being released from the post of member of the SFRY Presidency he automatically ceases to be president of the SFRY Presidency. This was stated in a communique issued by the SFRY Presidency Information Service.

This explanation was made by the SFRY Presidency's Information Service following the written resignation that Jovic tendered to the Serbian Assembly.

Until Jovic has been released from his duties as a member of the SFRY Presidency, and thus as the president of the SFRY Presidency, only he as the existing president can call a presidency session.

Jovic Responds to Presidency Statement

LD1603223691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2202 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Statement by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic in Belgrade on 16 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—"Based on the constitutional role and responsibilities of the Armed Forces in ensuring the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the social system as set out in the federal Constitution, the Supreme Command Headquarters proposed the taking of appropriate measures that would guarantee the prevention of interethnic armed conflicts and civil war and ensure the conditions for a peaceful, democratic outcome of the Yugoslav crisis based on the constitution and laws.

"In its proposals the Supreme Command Headquarters was guided exclusively by the application of the federal Constitution and the implementation of federal regulations. It clearly stands for the noninterference in the political questions, the method of resolving the crisis, and the affairs of political bodies. It wants to ensure conditions for a peaceful and democratic resolution of the crisis in the legitimate institutions of the system, as forseen by the federal Constitution, respecting all the legitimately elected bodies of authority.

"As a result of all this, the claim in today's statement from the Presidency session that the Presidency has opted for the application 'of political means and a democratic dialogue between legitimate subjects in the country and the republics as the only realistic way of overcoming this situation, consistent with the interests and needs of our citizens, nations, nationalities, republics, and provinces,' is pure deception of the public, because this was not disputed in any alternative nor at any moment.

"The SFRY Presidency is, therefore, trying to conceal the real truth about which there really were talks, and is trying to conceal its responsibility."

Mesic Assesses Federal Presidency Session

LD1603234991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2253 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic, returning from a state presidency session in Belgrade, stated in an interview with Croatian television this evening that there is less optimism now than before the session "over the situation as it is at the moment." But he added that he believes the situation can be resolved peacefully.

Asked about attendance at the session, Mesic said that during the session Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic and Federal Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic were invited and they attended the session, while Federal Secretary [for National Defense] Veljko Kadijevic, despite being invited, did not attend the session. It was said that "he was away."

Mesic spoke on the situation created after the resignations of "two Presidency members." He first said that resignation was a personal thing and added that what Jovic and Bucin stated when explaining their resignations was not acceptable. Mesic maintains that what they failed to explain about their resignations is more important. According to Mesic, the majority did not accept proposals and requests for measures "which actually meant the state of emergency, mobilization, and ste,-ping up combat readiness of the Army on the entire territory of Yugoslavia to a level required by the Supreme Command Headquarters."

He explained: "During a well-argued discussion, such a conclusion was not reached by the majority of the SFRY Presidency members" and voting produced well-known results.

"Now that these two resignations are substantiated by an explanation that the Presidency members are resigning due to the fact that a majority of SFRY Presidency members worked on the disintegration of Yugoslavia and tried to halt the democratic dialogue—it is a simple farce, it is pure hypocrisy," Mesic said. He concluded that according to current developments it is the stubborn advocates of the federation who are now breaking up this federation because they have failed to impose their unacceptable solutions by force.

"I believe that the democratic world and our public will understand what is involved here. I also believe that the citizens of Serbia, when they read our statement and explanations of the resignations, and when they hear what their president is saying, they will understand the real issue.

"They actually want to discontinue negotiations. Because now, when we have reached an agreement on future functions of our future association, when we can see the light at the end of the tunnel and when we see that it is possible to reach and agreement—now they issue ultimatums. They want to bring the Army onto the political stage; to stop negotiations; to make this country experience what it has experienced in the past. This country can only be democratic, it can only be an alliance of sovereign states that will, on the basis of their sovereignty, decide on functions that they will share among themselves. We are all ready—and you saw this among the majority of SFRY Presidency members—to invest all our efforts to achieve these goals," Mesic concluded.

Return To Normal Presidency 'Soon'

LD1603200991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1851 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—A session of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, which is to discuss what should be done after last night's resignation of its President Borisav Jovic, opened here this evening.

The session was called by Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic at the request of Presidency Member Vasil Tupurkovski. As learned, Jovic is not attending.

"Jovic did not understand the consequences stemming from his [word indistinct]," said (?Mesic) in a statement to Croatian radio before today's session. "Someone has to call a session if a president resigns, be it the outgoing president or the person who deputies for him," he added.

Mesic said "it has been agreed with Jovic" that the session not held last night should after all be convened today. "The session will review Jovic's resignation speech and adopt a statement to the effect that the Army should do only what is within its competence under the constitution," he added. Mesic recalled that "the Presidency is the supreme commander of the Yugoslav Armed Forces," and that "the Army must accept this everything beyond this would also be beyond the constitution," he specified.

"Those who advocated emergency measures - since they proceeded from wrong assumptions and thus their conclusions were wrong - must go," said Mesic, adding that this also applies to "the generals who proposed the wrong measures."

Mesic expressed conviction that the Yugoslav Presidency would soon return to normal work and functioning.

Markovic Convenes Emergency FEC Session

LD1503205891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2023 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Based on the constitutional responsibility and competent authority of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] for the situation in the country, and in connection with the explanation for the resignation of SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, President Ante Markovic has convened a session of the FEC. The public will be informed immediately after the end of the session of the stances adopted. This was reported in a statement issued this evening by the FEC Information Secretariat.

Council Advocates Democratic Reforms

LD1603042591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0345 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—In line with its constitutional powers and duties, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] met last night with Ante Markovic in the chair to discuss the situation in the country, as well as the situation that could develop in light of the explanation for his resignation given by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic.

The FEC wishes to address the Yugoslav public, all citizens, political parties, and state entities, to stress that the problems facing us, although complex and difficult, can be overcome only through reforms and democratic means—without the use of force.

The reforms are not behind the problems facing our society. On the contrary, attempts to halt and devalue them have increased tensions and intensified the crisis in the country.

At a time when talks are underway to find solutions to Yugoslavia's future system in a peaceful and democratic way, the FEC has been making special efforts to facilitate necessary functions at the level of the federation in the transitional period.

The FEC does not wish to comment on the motives that prompted the SFRY Presidency president, as the decision to resign is a matter of concern for each individual functionary or public servant. The FEC does not agree with conclusions in the statement to the effect that those who refuse to accept the proposed way of resolving controversial issues in Yugoslavia have displayed a lack of trust in the Yugoslav People's Army, favor disintegration of the country, and want to take it into a civil war.

The FEC says in conclusion that a peaceful, tolerant, and democratic way of resolving all controversial issues, including the fateful ones concerning Yugoslavia's future system will, despite the fact that it requires prolonged and patient talks, help to remove the danger of conflicts and a civil war. That is, providing the assemblies of the republics and the SFRY Assembly are allowed to take over responsibility for resolving all our problems and if, by involving other institutions of the system, we search for solutions to implement the program of reforms more rapidly and efficiently as the sole way of pulling out of the crisis.

Reviews Political Developments

LD1603173891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Legislature will in accordance with the already accepted conclusions, continue efforts for overcoming the crisis in the country by constitutional, peaceful and democratic means—says a statement released by the legislature's press office today.

The federal legislature holding intensive consultations on the latest developments in the country—the resignation of State Presidency President Borisav Jovic and reasons which had triggered the move.

Although the legislature has not been officially informed about Jovic's resignation, it is reviewing the possibility of holding a joint session of both chambers which is envisaged under its rules of procedure.

Emergency Meeting on 17 March

LD1703170591 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] The political crisis in Yugoslavia—although there have been no new developments today—is still causing numerous reactions. A session of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] was convened for 1300 today. According to HINA [Croatian News Agency], the FEC intended to assess latest political developments in the country. [FEC] President Ante Markovic and all members of the federal government have practically been in a constant session over the past several days, trying to react timely and with right moves to the situation in Yugoslavia. Up to now we have not received a statement from the FEC session that is being held this afternoon.

Army Appraising Rejection of Proposed Measures

LD1503185591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Starting from the constitutional role and responsibilities of the armed forces in securing the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the SFRY, the Supreme Command Headquarters proposed to the SFRY Presidency, as the supreme commander of the armed forces, taking appropriate measures, which in view of the very difficult situation in the country, would guarantee the prevention of interethnic armed conflicts and civil war and ensure the conditions for a peaceful, democratic outcome of the Yugoslav crisis based on the constitution and laws.

At sessions held on 12, 14, and 15 March the SFRY Presidency, by a majority of votes, did not accept the submitted proposal. The headquarters of the Supreme Command of the SFRY Armed Forces is assessing the situation that has arisen in connection with the failure to accept the proposal and the measures it would take in connection with this.

Government Criticizes Defense Information Body

LD1503182891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1401 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 15 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government termed as inadmissable that the Defence Secretariat's information service argue with Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

"It is inadmissable for the Federal Defence Secratariat's information service, as part of the federal administration, to argue with the federal prime minister who heads the body of which the federal secretary for national defence is a member," a statement of the Government Information Secretariat sets out.

The government has announced that it will demand "establishing the responsiblity for such an act" and will undertake measures "for this never to happen again."

The Yugoslav Army carries out orders issued by the collective Yugoslav Presidency, it does not take actions on the basis of "republican, party or individual stands, wishes of concepts," the Federal Defence Secretariat information service said in its statement of March 12.

The statement came in response to Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic's criticism voiced at the Yugoslav Presidency session on March 10 in connection with the sending of armoured army vehicles and tanks into the streets of Belgrade during the opposition demonstrations.

Markovic said at the session that the use of force during the March 9 demonstrations in Belgrade were counterproductive for the reform process in the country.

The prime minister assessed that the engagement of the Army could be interpreted as "army interference in

political relations in the country," and that he had not been consulted on this kind of engagement of the army.

FEC Condemns 'Inappropriate' Media War

AU1503201891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] The Federal Executive Council [FEC] has concluded that despite all visible negative consequences a media war totally inappropriate for a civilized democratic society is continuously being waged in Yugoslavia.

Instead of affirming the recently adopted federal law on the bases of the system of public information, whose realization would provide a realistic basis for calming down tensions, political leaderships in many parts of the country are doing the opposite by controlling the mass media. This is clearly demonstrated by the latest events in Pakrac and Belgrade. Censorship is introduced for no reason even though it is explicitly prohibited.

The FEC holds the view that it is necessary to constantly induce and encourage the public to defend the democratic and civil right to be fully and objective informed about all vital issues.

In connection with this, the FEC will directly take part in the process of organizing journalists in the defense of dignity and strengthening the independent position of journalism.

Several Thousand Attend Nationalist Rally

AU1603140291

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 16 March begins a live relay of a rally organized by the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia (LC-MY) together with five other Yugoslav-oriented parties in the Usce Park in Belgrade.

According to the reporter in the Usce Park, the rally is attended by some 7,000 to 10,000 people.

At 1305 GMT, Dragan Atanasovski, president of the Yugoslav Committee of the LC-MY opens the rally. After the national anthem was played, Atanasovski takes the floor and speaks for about five minutes.

Addressing the crowd, he says:

"We demand that the SFRY Assembly ensure a peaceful denouement of the Yugoslav crisis; that the SFRY Presidency listen to the voice of reason, the voice of people. The Yugoslav People's Army must be the guarantor of peace and civil freedom in the country. We demand that all acts and regulations that are not in conformity with the existing federal constitution and regulations be suspended; that the SFRY Assembly as the highest entity of authority immediately prohibit the work of the political parties and other organizations undermining the integrity of Yugoslavia, working on the changes in internal and external borders of Yugoslavia, engaging in terrorist activities, and inciting interethnic hatred and intolerance; that all political officials who are working against the integrity of Yugoslavia be recalled or replaced; that all those preparing a civil war in Yugoslavia be put on trial; that a stop be immediately put to the media war and that the free flow of objective information throughout Yugoslavia be ensured; that a Yugoslav referendum be called for Yugoslavia. Only the citizens of Yugoslavia can decide on the future of Yugoslavia, and nobody else."

He is often interrupted by cheers and shouts "Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia."

At about 1312 GMT, the reporter from Usce Park says that this is the end of the live relay but that Belgrade radio will occasionally report on what is going on at the rally.

At 1324 GMT, Belgrade radio resumes the coverage of the LC-MY rally in the Usce Park with Belgrade writer Branko Kitanovic speaking.

He is followed by retired General Steven Mirkovic (former chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav People's Army), who speaks for about 17 minutes.

Speaking about some republics' desire to dissociate themselves from Yugoslavia Mirkovic says: "Any one of our republics separated from the center will be much less sovereign, free, and secure than they are today. Therefore, the proper interest of all peoples is Yugoslavia and its further development. We will modernize it, not destroy it. This does not mean that we are opposed to secession in practice if people want this, however, this requires time. All accounts should be settled and we should depart in peace if we want to do this and not gloomily as at present; therefore, my message to those who are in a hurry to leave us is: Be patient. Just as no part of Yugoslav territory can be taken by outside force, so too is a forced secession even less possible."

He too is often interrupted by cheers and shouts of approval.

At 1243 GMT, the rally is addressed by Croatian Socialist Party Chairman Borisav Mikelic who mainly speaks about the economic crisis in the country.

Belgrade radio keeps stopping and resuming the live relay, broadcasting speeches of various participants in the rally.

The last speaker at the rally is a woman from Pula who speaks for about seven minutes.

All speakers at the rally express concern about the current political and economic situation and emphasize the need for Yugoslavia to remain one country.

At 1320 GMT, the live relay ends with the song "Yugoslavia."

Milosevic: Serbia Independent of Federal Assembly

LD1603172991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade on 16 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency has not functioned for a long time, and the illusion about the nonexistent efforts and endeavors of the Presidency, is definitively inoperative as of last night. This is not a step backward but a step forward, because the plain truth is better than illusion and deceit. Yugoslavia has been left without its Presidency, but it has not been left without workers, without peasant-farmers, without millions of its citizens and people who have been working honestly and diligently, preserving their country and looking after their families.

Millions of these honest and normal people will not give up their country.

Regarding Serbia, it is always for Yugoslavia and it has never concealed this. It is saying this publicly now, too, with intense conviction and pride.

With the blocking of the functions of the SFRY Presidency by the exponents of the policy of the country's disintegration, the plan for the break-up of Yugoslavia has entered its final phase. This plan is being implemented to the detriment of the vital interests of the Serbian people, both in Serbia and in Yugoslavia.

Instead of a democratic federation, which would enable Serbian and other nationalities to lead a peaceful life on the basis of equality within a single state, the forces of the anti-Serbian coalition have planned, and are now trying to achieve, the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia exists and it cannot be abolished by unilateral acts and a fait accompli policy, because realistic interests, the achieved freedoms, democratic achievements and the power of its people guarantee its survival and successful development.

By directly sabotaging its own order for the disarmament of paramilitary formations, the Yugoslav Presidency has enabled the creation of republican armies which directly threaten the security of the country, all its citizens, and especially the Republic of Serbia and the Serbian population outside the Republic.

In the Yugoslav Presidency, which is also the Supreme Command of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, after the order was made it was evident that there was an organized blockade of the functions of the Yugoslav People's Army, which has the duty and capability to protect the people from war, whether it is a civil or aggressive war.

The Yugoslav Presidency has done everything to prevent its own orders from being implemented and to enable the secession of certain republics and parts of Yugoslavia through combined political maneuvers of obstruction and armed incidents, rather than through peaceful means with the respect of the rights of all peoples to self-determination.

Having resigned from the SFRY Presidency and the Armed Forces' Supreme Command, Borisav Jovic refused to accept the blockade and obstruction of the state leadership at a critical moment for the fate of the country. I think that in these circumstances Jovic's resignation is an act of a responsible man who refuses to take part in the disintegration of his homeland, as well as an act of rebellion against the obstruction of the state leadership.

Given such a situation, I wish to announce that Serbia will no longer recognize any decision passed by the SFRY Presidency, because in present circumstances such a decision would be illegitimate.

Personally, I will not take any part in the work of a Presidency that has opted for Yugoslavia's disintegration, in the sense of any duties that may be transferred to me after Jovic's resignation and in accordance with the SFRY Constitution. I expect that the citizens of Serbia, as well as both the Yugoslav and international public, will understand that no patriot could accept the legitimacy of a collective head of state that acts against the integrity of its country and the existing Constitution.

I demand that the Serbian Assembly adopt a decision at its next session—in keeping with the documents on taking over the functions of the Kosovo Assembly—to relieve Riza Sapundziju of his function as member of the SFRY Presidency.

In the present circumstance, when attempts are being made to cause disturbances in Sandzak, Kosovo, and Metohija, I ordered the mobilization of the reserve security forces of the Serbian Interior Ministry and the urgent formation of additional police forces of the Republic of Serbia.

I asked the Serbian government to carry out all preparations for the formation of additional forces whose volume and strength would guarantee the protection of the interests of Serbia and the Serbian people.

In this grave situation, I call on all political parties to establish full cooperation and ignore all mutual disputes and differences in the interests of Serbia.

I believe that, despite the conditions created in Yugoslavia, there is no need for imposing emergency measures in the Republic of Serbia. The work of all institutions of the system and the entire life in the Republic should proceed normally. The citizens of Serbia can be sure that the Republic of Serbia is capable of ensuring the protection of its own interests and those of all its citizens and the entire Serbian people.

The Serbian Republic, its citizens, and the Serbian people will resist any act of dismantling our homeland.

We must be firm and resolute today in defending our country, as we have been on numerous occasions before. I am convinced that the great spirit of freedom of the Serbian people will defeat the forces of the anti-Serbian coalition hovering over Serbia and Yugoslavia. It is our duty. Wisdom, courage, and above all patriotism of the citizens of our republic and the whole of Yugoslavia have been put to the test.

We are now undergoing this test. I believe in the victory of peace in Yugoslavia. I believe in the victory of unity in Serbia and the victory of forces which will bring calm to the people, and primarily to mothers and our children.

Milosevic Mobilizes Serbian Interior Troops

LD1603155191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic stated today in an address to the public on Belgrade Television that "the Republic of Serbia will not recognize any decision by the SFRY Presidency in the existing circumstances, because it would be illegitimate."

He announced at the same time that he had ordered the mobilization of the reserve security forces of the Serbian Ministry for Internal Affairs and the urgent formation of additional police forces in Serbia.

"Yugoslavia entered the final phase of its agony last night. The SFRY Presidency has not functioned for a long time, and the illusion about the efforts of the Yugoslav Presidency and its endeavors, which do not in fact exist, is definitively inoperative as of last night," Milosevic stated in an address to Serbian citizens.

Milosevic said that he believes that, despite the circumstances that have arisen, emergency measures should not be introduced in Yugosalvia.

Zelenovic Wants Army To Protect Law, Order

LD1503235191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2313 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia Dragutin Zelenovic said this afternoon that the Yugoslav Army should protect law and order and prevent possible conflicts only until a way out of the Yugoslav crisis has been found.

Speaking at a press conference, Zelenovic said he had not been officially notified about requests for his resignation made after student protests in Belgrade.

Serbian vice-prime ministger Nikola Stanic told reporters that the Serbian opposition can request early elections, but that the final decision rests with the republican legislature.

Serbian Renaissance Movement on Jovic Resignation

LD1603205291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2011 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Borisav Jovic's resignation is "a result of a clash between two concepts of solving the Yugoslav crisis. Jovic was an advocate of an undemocratic way of solving the problem, based on force, threats, fear, and ultimatums." This according to a statement of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] was sent to TANJUG this evening.

Resignations of other members of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro and Vojvodina followed after their support, over several days, for introducing a state of emergency in the country, thus choosing a military option for the future of Yugoslavia, the statement, signed by party chairman Vuk Draskovic, goes on to say.

"Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's order to mobilize the reserve police force and to refuse to recognize SFRY Presidency decisions represents an imposed police option that is aimed at enabling the corrupt ruling set of people in this republic to remain in power through a policy of force, which is exhausting the economic power of Serbia even more. Therefore, democratic forces in Serbia cannot support the actual introduction of police administration because no reasons for this exist," the SPO statement concludes.

Draskovic Criticizes Milosevic's Statement

LD1703033391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0126 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Sarajevo, March 16 (TANJUG)—The leader of the most influential opposition party of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia, Vuk Draskovic, said this evening in the information program of Yutel network that the Serbian leadership is trying to save its shaken positions by "provoking hatred, chaos and paranoia in Yugoslavia."

Arguing the stand of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that the "anti-Serbian coalition" is trying to bring about the disintegrtion of Yugoslavia "with a policy of fait accompli," Draskovic said that "people who believe that work should continue on finding peaceful, democratic solutions" cannot be accused of this.

Draskovic accused the Yugoslav army of "allowing everything that is anti-Serbian to get armed," and of making the Serbian nation a "hostage of the generals." He appealed to the leadership of the Republic of Croatia to disarm all anticonstitutionally armed paramilitary units.

Draskovic also asked for a special assembly of the legislatures of Serbia and Montenegro in order to elect new people to replace the members of the Yugoslav State

Presidency from these two republics who have resigned, Borisav Jovic and Nenad Bucin.

"People who are for democratic solutions should be sent in place of those who will not talk, who are for tanks and a firm hand," Vuk Draskovic proposed in his statement to Yutel this evening.

Says Regime Based on Force

LD1703113991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1024 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 17 (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, the strongest opposition party in the republic, has stated in an interview to the daily VJESNIK of Zagreb, Croatia, that "the regime in Serbia rests on force."

Commenting the deployment of tanks in Belgrade after the March 9 demonstrations, Draskovic said: "The tanks could have been called in only by the president of the Yugoslav State Presidency, Dr. Borisav Jovic."

"That was obviously a prelude to the carrying out of a scenario for the rebolshevization of Yugoslavia," Draskovic stated to VJESNIK.

Draskovic assessed that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and "his disciples" would have to step down by the end of the year, unless power in the republic was democratized. He added that new multiparty elections would also have to be held in Serbia by the end of the year.

Demands Serbian Government Resign

LD1703184391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] Chairman Vuk Draskovic has sent a letter to the Serbian Assembly calling for the resignation of the republican government. There is special insistence on the replacement, in other words resignation, of Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic and Industry Ministry Dusan Matkovic.

In the letter to the Serbian Assembly, the text of which was sent to the editorial board of TANJUG, today, Draskovic recalls the human casualties, the numerous injured, and the great damage which came about in Belgrade on 9 March. "Participants in peaceful demonstrations were attacked with chemical substances, armored vehicles, water cannon, and other means, which provoked necessary defensive action by those being attacked. If individual participants in the peaceful demonstrations went beyond necessary self-defense, the cause of this was the aggressive and odious attack by the security services who had orders to beat up demonstrators as much as they liked in the knowledge that they would not be held responsible for it."

The SPO proposes that proceedings by initiated for the dismissal of, or that the resignation be requested of, Industry Minister Dusan Matkovic, because, it says, at the protest meeting at Usce on 11 March, "he incited and called on the citizens who had gathered to settle scores with the students."

The letter adds that the adducement of unverified facts in connection with the intervention of the security organs in Pakrac, Knin, Glina, and Stolac is sufficient reason for some of the blame also to be borne by Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic.

The letter claims that Prime Minister Zelenovic was familiar with the possible consequences if the intervention of the security organs, but that he did not take the most appropriate measures; instead, he all too easily maintained that serious consequences would not come about, which makes him directly responsible for the situation that arose.

"Besides this, because the prime minister has not put forward any government program, as the constitution requires, it is justifiable to request the resignation of the government or its replacement," Vuk Draskovic's letter to the National Assembly of Serbia concludes.

SPO Demands Draskovic's Presence in Assembly

AU1603233091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Slobodan Raketic, president of the deputies group of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO], has sent a protest note to the Serbian Assembly because the administrative committee adopted a regulation prohibiting Milan Radic, general secretary of the Serbian Renaissance Movement and the legal adviser of his deputies group, and SPO Chairman Vuk Draskovic from entering the Serbian Assembly.

The assembly president is asked to annul this decision and allow Draskovic to attend the first assembly session at which he would have the right to speak, but not participate, in decisionmaking. The note also demands that in the future Draskovic be allowed to enter the building and freely attend assembly sessions. If these demands are not met, the SPO deputies would consider themselves hindered in performing their duties, the protest note states.

Draskovic Barred From Assembly

LD1703174891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—It is not possible to satisfy the request of the Serbian Renaissance Movement that Vuk Draskovic, the chairman of this party, should attend sessions of the Serbian Assembly. This is stressed in a letter that Serbian Assembly President Slobodan Unkovic has sent to Slobodan Rakitic, chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement deputies' group.

In the reply to yesterday's letter from the movement, Slobodan Unkovic says that the questions arising out of the movement's request are regulated by the standing orders of the Serbian Assembly. He recalls that the people's deputies are completely free to express their stands, including the stands of their political parties.

I remain of the view that only deputies, the government, and ministers should work and express their views in the Serbian Assembly, because they are, according to Article 70 of the Serbian constitution, designated to fulfill the rights and duties of the Serbian Republic, as is the president of the republic in certain circumstances, Unkovic says. This practice, Unkovic states, is also consistently carried out in other European legislature's.

Serbian Assembly President Discourages Rallies

LD1503174191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—The president of the Serbian legislature, Slobodan Unkovic, Friday called on all political parties to refrain from holding rallies. He specially appealed to the opposition parties not to hold a rally on March 20, when the republican legislature is due to convene.

Unkovic told newsmen that an opposition rally would "make more difficult the efficient functioning of the legislature."

The Serbian opposition parties have scheduled to hold a "rally of truth" on March 20 in the center of Belgrade, to determine whether their demands have been met.

The opposition wants to see whether Serbia's police chief Radmilo Bogdanovic will really be relieved of office, as the legislature is due to decide whether to accept his resignation at its March 20 session. The opposition demands that an already formed multiparty committee objectively assesses the March 9 demonstrations and that the demands for free information be fully realized.

The Communist Alliance-Movement for Yugoslavia called on all citizens of Yugoslavia to attend a rally on Saturday for the defence of Yugoslavia because, it said, "neofascism and bloody violence are circulating" throughout Yugoslavia.

This party, considered as the successor of the Yugoslav Communist Party and whose leading officials are mainly former Army generals, plans to hold its rally outside Belgrade's centre.

Serbian United Opposition Comments on Protests

LD1503200191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The United Opposition of Serbia today issued a statement in connection with yesterday's proclamation of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] Main Committee, in which it expresses "extreme bitterness over lies and unfounded accusations against the democratic demands of citizens and the policy of the United Opposition of Serbia".

First, the statement carries a denial of the SPS accusation that on 9 March the Opposition wanted to crush the power legally elected last December.

"The Opposition reiterates that it recognizes the legitimacy of the Serbian Assembly. Free citizens of Serbia and Belgrade did not go to Republic Square on 9 March to support this statement. They went there to say that lies, deceptions, insinuations, agitations, and insults against people and entire nations and states by Belgrade's state television, and other television, radio stations, and the press in Serbia, would lead Serbia and its people to adventurism, violence, and conflicts with everyone in Yugoslavia and outside the country. It is this which has been undermining the legitimacy of the Serbian Assembly. The Opposition claims that the citizens of Serbia, as well as many other citizens in Yugoslavia, do not want that".

"The SPS has also made a false accusation about demonstrations being violent. Violence was resorted to by those who issued orders for the use of batons, water cannon, tear gas, police horses, and dogs, as well as machine gun bullets," the statement reads, adding that "violence, as the worst method for the interpretation of peoples' political interests, started in Kosovo Polje, amid the election campaign in Serbia, in an organized way and under the control of the SPS."

In a lengthy statement the SPO goes on to expose in detail the arguments and examples of "the degradation of the press" and its "one-party bias." It cites as the latest example of "the abuse of Belgrade Television for the benefit of SPS," that a children's program was interrupted on 11 March to broadcast "a call for mobilization" for the meeting at Usce. Special attention is drawn to the fact that "SPS failed to claim responsibility for the shameless and immoral behavior of its members, who danced a kolo (traditional folk dance) and rejoiced after the meeting, although innocent victims had fallen in Belgrade on 9 March."

"The United Opposition of Serbia maintains that due to the barbaric repression by the regime police and the irresponsible behavior of the Serbian Government, it is the duty of the police leadership and the ruling power to actively assist the inquiry commission of the Republic of Serbia," the statement reads.

It is the request of the opposition that by 20 March—the date for which the Serbian Assembly session is convened—the following announcement be made: Who ordered the suspension of the constitutional freedom of movement of citizens and traffic in Belgrade and Serbia on 9 March; who ordered the police to fire at unarmed people and use force from the morning of 9 March onward; who killed Branivoje Milinovic and Nedeljko Kosovic; who ordered the police to confront students on the Sava bridge between 10 and 11 March; who ordered

the police to surround the building of the Serbian Assembly; who withdrew the opposition deputies' freedom of movement and the holding of a news conference in the assembly; who called the Army to the streets of Belgrade; and who ordered the arrest, without a warrant, of Vuk Draskovic and Jovan Marjanovic, as well as of many local officials of various opposition parties?

Finally, the United Opposition of Serbia expresses its deepest gratitude to the medical staff of Belgrade hospitals for their prompt treatment of the injured, as well as to members of the police who have expressed solidarity with the efforts of the opposition and the demands of citizens since the events of 9 March.

Micunovic Says Nation Has Not 'Disintegrated'

LD1603173191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1645 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has not disintegrated despite the state leadership crisis, president of the Democratic Party of Serbia, Dragoljub Micunovic, has said.

"Nothing is finished, we cannot play at a fait accompli," Micunovic said in an interview to the "Studio B" television station.

Micunovic set out that the state Presidency crisis is a result of a blockade of this body, reflected in the fact that most of the decisions over the past months were adopted by a majority vote.

He warned that it would be dangerous if sovereignty was transferred to the army barracks, saying that the Army itself does not want such a solution.

In the situation when the members of the country's top leadership are no longer able to maintain a normal dialogue, the opposition should play a more energetic role in parliament, Micunovic said.

According to him, "the opposition's rating has risen" after the ruling party, the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), failed to fulfill its pre-election promises.

Justice Ministry Denies Beating Demonstrators

LD1503172791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—The Justice Ministry of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Friday denied a statement made yesterday by Jovan Marijanovic, vice-president of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM, the republic's biggest opposition party) [SPO], that a number of the arrested demonstrators were not released because they were brutally beaten. The ministry claims that the demonstrators, who were arrested during the March 9 protests, are healthy but have sustained "minor injuries."

The ministry also said that disciplinary proceedings have been initiated against two policemen, as they overstepped their powers during the arresting procedure.

POLITIKA: Country Lacks Supreme Commander

LD1703012291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2310 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—Is the time of the generals coming or has it already arrived - asks the Belgrade daily POLITIKA in tomorrow's edition commenting on the present moment of the Yugoslav crisis after the resignations of the president and two members of the Yugoslav presidency, which is also the supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

The paper, close to the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia, [word indistinct] that Yugoslavia is now without a supreme commander, but that the "General Staff and the Federal Secretariat for National Defence are still existing, acting and evaluating the newly-arisen situation."

POLITIKA holds that the supreme commander (the presidency of Yugoslavia) "has proved incapable of coping with the situation in which the country finds itself" and that "it has definitively failed to pass a historic test." Nevertheless, the Belgrade daily says, the Yugoslav People's Army "did not ask that soldiers be brought out of the barracks," but the soldiers did ask the politicians to finally agree on the character and organization of the state, while they (the soldiers) will observe their agreement.

However, the paper's commentator Miroslav Lazanski says, the politicians have "remained prisoners of old habits" and have once again found themselves out of step with the Yugoslav soldiers. He adds that the events of March 1991 remind him of those in March 1941 when, following a military coup, the people in Belgrade and other cities "obliterated" Yugoslavia's accession to the Tripartite Pact of the Axis powers.

Journalists Demand Editors' Resignation

LD1503194691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1814 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Journalists of the domestic affairs programs of Belgrade television announced this evening at a meeting of journalists of Belgrade editorial offices that the temporary editorial team of the second daily news program ["Ndevnik"] has ceased to exist."

The news program was to be temporarily edited by Gordana Susa, Branka Mihailovic, Nebojsa Jankovic, and Sonja Djuric.

The editors, it was said at today's meeting, refused to edit the news program because a statement by the leader of the deputies' group of the Serbian Renaiisance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove], Slobodan Rakitic, was left

out of last night's second news program, which carried the full statement of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije]. Rakitic's statement was left out against the wishes of the "Dnevnik" editors.

At the same meeting, POLITIKA journalists announced that a demonstration will be held at 1400 on Monday in front of the POLITIKA building. This is planned as a peaceful protest at which the resignations of the editors of POLITIKA publications will be sought.

The POLITIKA journalists called on their colleagues from other editorial offices to join them, and the coordination committee of the independent and autonomous trade unions of journalists of Belgrade radio and television, BORBA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, TANJUG, and POLITIKA stated that they supported the demands of the POLITIKA journalists.

SDA Rally in Novi Pazar Adopts Demands

LD1503193391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1708 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Novi Pazar, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—About 5,000 members and sympathizers of the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije - SDA] gathered at an SDA protest meeting held today in Novi Pazar, where they supported the United Opposition and the Belgrade University students.

The meeting participants requested that the first channel of Belgrade television be a nonparty channel, that the second channel be placed at the disposal of parties with deputies in the Serbian Assembly, and also that the Novi Pazar area receive the third channel and Yutel. It was also requested that representatives of the parties be included in the program councils of Belgrade television, Pristina television and Novi Sad television. Also the resignations were requested of the head of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Novi Pazar, the police chiefs in Sjenica and Tutin, as well as the director of the local newspaper and radio current affairs organization.

Tudjman Calls Jovic's Explanation 'Surprising'

LD1603013591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0036 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 15 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman tonight said that the resignation of President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Borisav Jovic was a logical move, but that the explanation of the resignation was surprising.

According to Tudjman's statement to Croatian television, carried by the Yugoslav Yutel television channel, it is not that Jovic has done this for the good of the country and in order to preserve peace and the constitutional order.

It should be borne in mind that, in his very inaugural address before the Federal Assembly, President Jovic had announced a dogmatic and repressive policy, Tudjman said.

According to Tudjman, Jovic had with his guidance of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, hampered normal talks on surmounting the state and political crisis.

It should not be forgotten that, before Jovic announced his resignation, the Supreme Command Staff had made a statement 'which was more than surprising as, after the decision of the Presidency of Yugoslavia turning down the proposal to impose a state of emergency, the staff takes the right to discuss what steps it should take and what proposals it should make'. It is logical and only right that the Supreme Command Staff should obey the orders of the supreme commander, i.e., the Presidency of Yugoslavia, Tudjman said in conclusion.

Vows To Resist 'Armed Intervention'

LD1603211591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Stubicke Toplice, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, by resigning, has marked the end of the Yugoslav crisis. He insisted, in agreement with the head of the Army, on introducing a state of emergency throughout Yugoslavia and on adopting a decision on the partial mobilization of the Yugoslav People's Army against "internal and external enemies." In fact, all this was aimed against the democratic authorities in the Republic of Croatia, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said today, speaking in Stubicke Toplice to representatives of the Zagorje municipalities.

The previous order on disarming the so-called paramilitary organizations concealed within it the clear orientation to disarm the regular and reserve composition of the Croatian police. They were "even to disarm us with the Army so they could then also set political conditions for us," Tudjman pointed out. We succeeded in the last three SFRY Presidency sessions to prevent a decision on a state of emergency from being adopted, also because the Slovenes were equally resolute as ourselves, comprehending that the existing situation cannot be maintained and that moves should be made toward a federation of sovereign republics or toward disintegration. This was then accepted by Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and also by the Kosovo representative in the SFRY Presidency.

Of course, we were able to do this, with the support of the world, because this world, including the United States, was for maintaining Yugoslavia within the framework of its existing borders at any price, but it has now accepted that it is up to our nations as to how they will organize their mutual relations. The world has also accepted the confederal basis for resolving the Yugoslav crisis as the only realistic policy, Tudjman emphasized.

We are now at the peak of the crisis period within Yugoslav society, in view of the fact that hegemonist and unitarist circles have reached their own conclusion that the proposal for a federation of sovereign republics is, in fact, the breakup of Yugoslavia and that this should be prevented at any "price." This is why provocations are resorted to, Tudjman stated

Tudjman believes that the hegemonistic-great Serbian policy aims at "even driving Slovenia out of Yugoslavia." If Slovenia reaches such a decision on separation, Croatia will simultaneously do the same. If the question of why Croatia should wait for Slovenia to make such a decision is asked, Franjo Tudjman said that it is for "internal and external reaons." A democratic dialogue should be led, but the Croatian nation in their entirety should be borne in mind, because Croats do live not only within Croatia but also partly in other republics.

In a situation whereby threats are being issued that the state of emergency will be introduced, Croatia has reached a decision on stepping up its defense, including the police force, and, with all other parties in agreement, the formation of people's defense as unarmed units. If an armed intervention takes place, we will resist it with our police force and will call on the entire Croatian people for defense, Tudjman said.

He expressed his hope that in the forthcoming two or three months an agreement on the federation of sovereign republics or a peaceful disintegration and formation of sovereign states will be reached. I am convinced that reason will prevail and that the crisis will be resolved, Tudjman concluded.

Milosevic Preparing for Dictatorship

LD1703015191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2316 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 16 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman today accused president of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic of "preparing the ground" in Belgrade "for his personal dictatorship, wishing probably to influence decisions of the General Staff of the Supreme Command."

President Milosevic stated today that "under the existing circumstances," Serbia "will not recognize a single decision of the Presidency of Yugoslvia." He accused the "anti-Serbian coalition" forces of trying to bring about a plan of Yugoslavia's disintegration by blocking the functions of the state presidency and by the fait accompli policy.

"We are living at a time when the scenario against the republic of Croatia and against democracy in Croatia and in all other republics which opted for, has reached its climax," said Tudjman in a statement to Croatian television. This he said was born out by the fact that the "greater Serbia elements" in the Knin Krajina region (where the Serbs are the majority population) have simultaneously "proclaimed its secession from the Republic of Croatia."

"We shall not allow any separation of the so-called Krajina from Croatia," said Tudjman, adding that if the question of borders is raised, "We shall raise the question of our borders."

He denied reports that Croatia had mobilizhed its police reserve force.

Tudjman [word indistinct] favours a democratic way of discussing the future organization of the Yugoslav community as a "community of sovereign republics." He explained that this sovereignty "will not be limited by anything" and "will also be protected by a section of the own armed forces."

If such an accord proves impossible, and if the Republic of Slovenia adopts a decision on dissociation, "Croatia will adopt the same decision the same moment."

Krajina Announces Separation From Croatia

LD1603175191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Knin, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—At an emergency session held in Knin today the Executive Council of the Serbian Autonomous District of Krajina adopted a draft decision on the separation from Croatia of six municipalities within Krajina. The announcement was broadcast on Knin Radio by Executive Council Secretary Dusan Vjestica.

He said this was a logical sequence of events in Krajina that has been accelerated by the resignation of Borisav Jovic because Vjestica recalls, "we have always been for the federation, and this concept in Yugoslavia is being destroyed and rejected by Croatia, Slovenia, and others."

The Serbian Autonomous District of Krajina will be a constituent element of the federation, Vjestica stresses. It will respect federal laws, as well as its own and those Croatian laws do not contravene the Krajina statute.

Vjestica said today's draft proposal of the Krajina Executive Council is an important step toward constituting the Serbian Autonomous District of Krajina. In this connection he pointed out further steps to be taken and announced the estabblishment of a social accountancy service with a seat in Knin, as well as the setting up of its own legislative entities. Over the next few days these decisions should be confirmed by the following municipal assemblies within Krajina: Knin, Benkovac, Lapac, Titova, Korenica, and Gracac.

Croatia Will Defend Sovereignty

LD1603223991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2017 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to residents of Lovinac and Sveti on 16 March]

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Following the resignations, Serbia has lost the domination that it had in the country's Presidency "and no longer recognizes the SFRY Presidency."

In Belgrade, Milosevic is putting in place a special dictatorship, "probably wishing to influence the decisions of the General Headquarters as the Supreme Command Headquarters," Tudjman stated.

"At the same time," Tudjman said, "in Knin those Serbian elements who serve this greater Serbian expansionist policy, in accordance with a Chetnik program on the soil of Croatia, today proclaimed the secession of their so-called Krajina from the Republic of Croatia. As a result, we are living through hours when the scenario against Croatia, against democracy both in Croatia and in all the other republics that have opted for it, is reaching its culmination and when uncertain moments await us."

Tudjman further said: "Should anybody dare to threaten the sovereignty of Croatia using weapons, we will defend ourselves with what weapons we have; the entire people will defend. We will not allow any separation of the so-called Krajina from Croatia; moreover, if the question of borders is forwarded, as we said during our election campaign, then we will forward the question of our borders."

"From the very beginning, we stated clearly, proclaimed in our constitution, and enacted in our laws that the Serbs in Croatia are guaranteed all civil rights and all national rights equal to those enjoyed by members of other nations in other countries. I am calling on the Serbs in Croatia to think about their future, the future of their children and not to create an unbridgeable gulf," Tudjman emphasized.

Tudjman said that currently no mobilized reserve police existed in Croatia. "We are for peace, for a democratic agreement on all questions regarding the future organization. If we can find a solution for a community of sovereign republics, it is all right. This can suit us in light of the fact that the Croatian people do not live only in Croatia. This is also demanded from us by European and world powers, because they fear the consequences of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, particularly consequences that will affect Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and even some Western countries. We are for completing democratic talks on the future organization of Yugoslavia as a community of sovereign republics whose sovereignty will be in no way limited and whose sovereignty will be defended partly by their own armed forces" Tudjman stressed.

"If such an agreement is not possible, they should not let themselves be carried away by the idea of being able to fight us even when they drive the Slovenes out of Yugoslavia," Tudjman said and repeated that, if Slovenia reaches a decision on separation, "Croatia will do the same."

Will Resist Military Interference

LD1503233591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2234 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 15 (TANJUG)—The Council for National Defence and Protection of the Constitutional Order of Croatia said this evening that the republic's representative on the presidency of Yugoslavia "will request the replacement of all those officials in the country's army leadership who are trying, contrary to the constitution and their legal powers, to impose emergency measures, which are tantamount to military dictatorship".

The statement was released before State Presidency President Borisav Jovic resigned from the post.

The statement—addressed to the Presidency of Yugoslavia, the supreme bodies of the republics and provinces (?and some) Yugoslav and foreign public—accuses unspecified army officials of attempting to impose extraordinary measures "by fabricating internal and external enemies and making erroneous political assessments".

The council said that at today's session of the State Presidency those who favoured a state of emergency were in the minority, warning nevertheless, that "there is a real danger of the military leadership attempting, contrary to the constitution, to stage [words indistinct] to oust the legitimate republican and federal bodies."

The statement also says that the Presidency members from the republics of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Serbia's Province of Kosovo opposed "the military's interference in political life".

"Despite this, the representatives of Serbia, Vojvodina, and Montenegro, together with some members of the Army leadership, are persistently attempting to impose a state of emergency in the entire country against the will of the majority in the Presidency of Yugoslavia, without consulting the federal government and the republics and without obtaining the approval of the Federal Assembly", the statement adds.

It also announces that Croatia will request the country's state leadership to revoke its decision of January 9 (relating to disarming the (?paramilitary) formations in this republic) so conditions may be created for resuming talks on (?a democratic) way out of the Yugoslav crisis.

If a decision on imposing emergency measures should be made with the aim of disarming "the legitimate police force of Croatia, the Croatian government and other

state bodies will immediately make preparations to defend peace, sovereignty and freedom of the republic", the statement says.

Croatian TV: Armed Forces Bypass Constitution

LD1503213191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2008 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—This is how Croatian TV's Dnevnik [news bulletin] commented this evening on the statement of the SFRY Armed Forces Supreme Command:

"This statement speaks for itself. What is the meaning of the sentence that the Supreme Command headquarters is assessing the situation that has arisen, as well as the measures it will take? The Constitution is clear and unambiguous. The SFRY Presidency is the Armed Forces Supreme Commander and it failed three times to obtain a majority vote in favor of the Supreme Command's proposal on introducing a state of emergency. In spite of this, the Supreme Command headquarters is meeting unconstitutionally and announcing to the entire Yugoslav public that it is examining what measures to take without a decision by the SFRY Presidency, bypassing the Constitution.

"We do not want to interpret the Constitution, but it is clear to everyone that with this step the Supreme Command headquarters has violated the Constitution to which it is accountable," Croatian TV states in conclusion.

Tudjman Chairs Croatian Defense Council Meeting

LD1503170491 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] The Croatian Council for National Defense and the Protection of Constitutional Order met today in Zagreb under the chairmanship of President Franjo Tudjman. The council considered the latest developments in the crisis in the Yugoslav state, activities of all political bodies—state political bodies in particular—and activities of Croatian bodies.

Following a discussion about and review of key problems and tasks posed by the latest developments, the council issued a statement that it sent to the SFRY Presidency, the republican and provincial leadership, and the public in Croatia and elsewhere.

MUP Files Criminal Charges Against Zelenovic

LD1503222591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2011 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] announced today that it has sent, via the Public Prosecutor of Croatia, criminal charges against Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic to the Public Prosecutor's Office of Serbia, "because of false claims about an alleged attempt to attack certain forces in Glina, Knin, Stolac, and some other places."

The criminal charges say among other things that Zelenovic "on 12 March 1991, at a session of the Serbian Assembly, with the intention of provoking disquiet and ill-feeling among citizens, stated that on the previous night an attack on Glina, Knin, Stolac, and some other places had been prevented, interpreting this as a clash with the leadership of the Serbian Republic, with the severest threats to the survival of the Serbian nation, although it was known to him that the allegations are false. There is therefore evidence that he committed a criminal act against public order and communications by spreading false news, as per Article 218 of the Criminal Law of Serbia. [quotation marks as received]

In view of the fact that it is not disputed that the Croation MUP did not carry out any movement of police units, and the plans about which Dragutin Zelenovic spoke did not exist, it is obvious that these allegations are deceitful, and calculated to cause disquiet among citizens in those areas with the intention of threatening public order and peace, the statement concludes.

Zagreb Rally Calls For National Unity

LD1603115491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Let us defend and defend to the last our common homeland of Yugoslavia, is the message to the Croatian and Yugoslav public from participants in a rally for peace, democracy, and togetherness on Trg Francuske Republike [French Republic Square] in Zagreb. About 2,000 members and sympathizers of the LC [League of Communists]-Movement for Yugoslavia [Savez Komunista—Pokret za Jugoslaviju] gathered at the rally with red carnations and banners calling for the preservation of unity and a democratic solution to the country's political problems.

Fifth Military District Command Denies Alert

LD1603154191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Statement issued by the Fifth Military District Command in Zagreb on 16 March]

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—The Fifth Military District Command today denied reports published in Croatian information media alleging heightened state of combat readiness in the command, units, and institutions of this military district, linked with remarks by Dragutin Zelenovic in the Serbian Assembly.

"Attacks, institutions, and falsehoods against the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] Fifth Military District are

unceasing. Yesterday HINA [Croatian news agency] carried a report about a "new ploy against Croatia," broadcast by Croatian television 1830 news and published by daily papers on 16 March. The report "irrefutably" claims and "proves" that units of the Fifth Military District carried out reconnaisance missions and that they are in the state of full combat readiness. These are pure fabrications, tendentious and deliberate insinuations about the JNA and members of the Fifth Military District.

"The manner and timing of the HINA report clearly shows that activities of the Fifth Military District are systematically and closely watched, which is unlawful and unathorized. The report also shows that bodies of power, especially the Croatian Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defense, are behind this. "The Command of the Fifth Military District has drawn attention to this practice by the bodies of the Croatian republic. These same bodies have reassured us that that they will stop these activities. This, obviously, yielded no results," the statement notes. The statement further reads: "However, it is quite certain that the official bodies of power in Croatia wish to conceal from the public their own activities, especially those carried out by Croatian Interior Ministry [MUP] services, such as the mobilization of their reserve forces and even the secret arming of paramilitary units, while shifting their responsibility to the JNA. "We categorically declare that the level of combat readiness of the commands, units, and establishments of the Fifth Military District has not been raised, and that we are not waiting for any signal from Belgrade "to impose a state of emergency." Linking Zelenovic's statement in the Serbian Assembly of 12 March this year with the activities of the Fifth Military District and claiming that there are some kind of plans "for independent action by the Fifth Military District directed at previously determined targets, such as MUP buildings, the Croatian leadership, the Assembly, the Croatian government, radio, and other important institutions," is a part of an organized propaganda campaign against the JNA, wishing to prove once again its antidemocratic, anti-Croatian, and anti-people character.

"With this, as well as earlier statements, the Fifth Military District Command wishes to make it clear that a planned training of its members is carried out in barracks and training grounds, and that it intends to continue these exercises in the future, in an organized and professional way, because the defense of the country is its main activity and constitutional duty" we read in the conclusion of today's statement signed by Col. Aleksije Luk.

Slovenia Withholds Funding for Federal Army

LD1503172591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1449 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Ljubljana, March 15 (TANJUG)—Slovenia is not ready to settle its part of last year's financial obligations to the Yugoslav People's Army as long as there are threats from the army ranks about the introduction of emergency measures, Slovene Prime Minister Alojzije Peterle told Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

In a letter sent to Markovic, in which Peterle apologizes for not being able to attend today's meeting in Belgrade between the federal prime minister and the prime ministers of the six republics, Peterle also criticized Yugoslav Vice-Prime Minister Zivko Pregl for misrepresenting the situation in the country during his recent visit to the United States, "judging from information announced in the public media."

Peterle's spokesman for the press Branko Podobnik said that Pregl, himself a Slovene, had allegedly claimed that there is greater unity in Yugoslavia in the support to the policy and measures of the federal government than it is believed in Slovenia.

Slovene Presidency Statement on Army Role

LD1603160791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia has considered the situation that has arisen following yesterday's resignation of Presidency President Borisav Jovic, the SFRY Presidency session, and the statement of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] General Staff. The session was expanded because it was also attended by Janez Drnovsek, France Bucar, Lojze Peterle, and certain republican secretaries.

A public statement emphasized that the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia has assessed that this is a case of exacerbation and renewed pressure with the aim of interrupting the political dialogue on solving the Yugoslav crisis and creating a state of emergency, in which it would be possible to use the armed forces for its solution. Slovenia, as it has done before, firmly rejects the demand of the JNA leadership that the Army should remain a decisive factor in the political life of Yugoslavia and does not accept the reasons cited by Jovic in his statement.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia considers that it is precisely the actions and measures that Jovic has advocated hitherto that have simply exacerbated the crisis and prevented its peaceful solution. Slovenia demands that the SFRY Presidency immediately continues the debate on the depoliticization of the JNA.

The statement also says that in this situation, in the opinion of the Slovene Presidency, the democratically elected entitites in all Yugoslav republics must bear, to a greater extent than before, full responsibility for legality, public order, peace, and the security of the people and property on its territory. Slovenia expects no one will attempt to prevent the services of the republics from realizing this responsibility, which at the same time, is the condition for the continuation of the political dialogue on the future of the republics and of Yugoslavia.

Slovenia will continue along the road to full independence, while being prepared to continue the dialogue with other republics on separation by peaceful means and on the division of the rights and obligations arising out of the present joint existence. In the statement for the public, the Presidency proposes to the Slovene Assembly and to its Executive Council that they accelerate all the necessary procedures whereby the republican services will take over the execution of all state functions, which is the fundamental condition for the realization of the plebiscite decision on the independence of Slovenia. In this way, it will be possible to redirect all the forces of the republic toward the solution of the economic, social, and other issues that are of existential importance for social security and peace for all citizens.

Vojvodina's Kostic Supports Jovic Resignation

LD1503232891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2145 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Novi Sad, March 15 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav State Presidency from the Province of Vojvodina Jugoslav Kostic has said that he is "in solidarity" with the move made by Presidency President Borisav Jovic, who tendered his resignation this evening.

Kostic told TANJUG's reporter that, during three days of debating, the Presidency could not "reach accord on questions on the agenda paper", and it is "natural that Jovic should tender his resignation".

"President Jovic did not want to assume further responsibility in case of undesirable developments. I was on his side and I am in solidarity with the move he made", Kostic stressed.

He added that, in this situation, one should wait for the outcome of consultations with the presidents of [words indistinct] in order to find a way out of the present situation.

Kostic Quits Presidency

LD1603161491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—I no longer wish to take part in the work of the SFRY Presidency, which instead of working on the consolidation and protection of Yugoslavia's integrity, sovereignty, and unity, is no longer carrying out the duties we agreed on, Vojvodina Presidency President Jugoslav Kostic told TANJUG today.

I will also inform the Vojvodina Assembly, as well as all municipal assemblies in the province about it and ask them to stop the procedure for my official election as member of the SFRY Presidency, Kostic said.

President Bozovic Refuses To Resign

AU1503193491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Vojvodina Executive Council President Radoman Bozovic, whose resignation was demanded at the meeting of truth in Novi Sad on 12 March and yesterday on 14 March, today held a news conference and stated he did not intend to resign.

Opposition parties do not have the right to change the legal entities of authority at rallies. Those who have lost in the elections will not be allowed to take power through an illegal procedure, Bozovic said, adding that only the Vojvodina Assembly and the Vojvodina public at large can discuss the vote of confidence to the Executive Council and individuals in the Vojvodina Executive Council.

Milosevic Urges Assembly To Dismiss Sapundziju

LD1603154791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has announced on Belgrade television that he has called on the Serbian Assembly, in accordance with the acts on taking over the functions of the Kosovo Assembly, to adopt at its next session a decision on the dismissal of Riza Sapundziju [Presidency member from Kosovo] from his position as member of the SFRY Presidency.

Bosnia's Bogicevic Views Jovic's Resignation

LD1603022591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0022 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—Bogic Bogicevic, Bosnia- Herzegovina's member of the Yugoslav state Presidency, said this evening that Presidency President Borisav Jovic had expressed his personal stands and views in the explanation of his resignation and not those of the Presidency.

Speaking in the prime-time news programme of Yutel television, Bogicevic said he believed that the presidency [passage indistinct].

He also said that he had no prior knowledge of Jovic's intention to resign, adding that the resignation would become effective after it had been approved by the Serbian legislature which had appointed Jovic to the Presidency.

It is the duty of the Presidency and other bodies to ensure peace and security of the citizens, the functioning of the system and institutions and the country's territorial integrity, Bogicevic said.

Macedonian President on Milosevic Speech

AU1603221791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Reacting to the speech by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Macedonia's President Kiro Gligorov tonight said on Macedonian radio and television that the speech represents a further deterioration of the already grave situation in the country, and an end of the dialogue on the future Yugoslav community.

Macedonia is not participating in any anti-Serbian coalition; it thinks with its own head, and does not want to contribute to the worsening of relations and irrational moves.

The resignations by [Presidency members] Bucin and Kostic, and the announced recall of Sapundziju, lead to a total paralysis in the work of the state presidency and put pressure on a dialogue to make others take sides with those who are trying to find a way out of the Yugoslav crisis through the introduction of emergency measures.

We should do everything possible so passions can be calmed and reason prevail, Gligorov pointed out.

Supports Collective Presidency

LD1503232491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2249 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Skopje, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—In this situation, work by the collective Presidency should continue. The country is in a difficult situation, which has become more dramatic since Jovic's resignation. There is no reason for any action that would imply military intervention or the introduction of a state of emergency, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov stated in an interview for Macedonian Radio and Television this evening.

Gligorov indicated that the main task at the moment is to ensure the normal functioning of all entities. He added that he expects that the Presidency session, with all republican presidents, would go ahead as planned, on Thursday, 21 March.

Tupurovski: Solve Crisis by 'Political Means'

LD1603201291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1917 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Skopje, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency's position that refuses to accept any other means except dialogue cannot be interpreted as mistrust of the SFRY Armed Forces, SFRY Presidency member Vasil Tupurkovski stated to NOVA MAKEDONIJA of Skopje today immediately before departing for the SFRY Presidency session.

Tupurkovski specifically stressed that it is difficult to approve of an enormous quantity of energy being wasted to discredit efforts to peacefully and democratically resolve the Yugoslav crisis. "I presume that this is the intention of those who wish to dominate projects and impose absolute political truths," Tupurkovski said.

He emphasized that the political crisis in the country has to be resolved through political means. Any other tendency that would not be based on a democratic dialogue would represent a denial of the level of democratization of our society has so far achieved.

Macedonian Party Leaders View Belgrade Events

LD1503195691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Skopje, March 15 (TANJUG)—"I am under the impression, and even more than that, that certain forces would like March 9 in Belgrade to take place throughout Yugoslavia" said Petar Gosev, the leader of the Communist Alliance of Macedonia-Party of Democratic changes (the second biggest party in the Macedonian Legislature).

The Serbian opposition parties and the police clashed in Belgrade on March 9 following demonstrations which left two dead and hundreds injured.

This prompted the Yugoslav Presidency, at the demand of the Serbian leadership, to deploy tanks on the capital's streets.

A March 12 session of the Yugoslav Presidency, which convened as the supreme commander of the armed forces, rejected by a 4:3 vote a proposal to proclaim a state of emergency in the country.

The state presidency met again in Belgrade today as the supreme commander of the armed forces.

Gosev told the DAILY VECER that forces "which strongly resist the democratic changes," can cause, at least for a short period, developments in Macedonia similar to those in Belgrade. "I believe, however," he said, that "the democratic [words indistinct] Macedonia are at this moment more open and that we have realistic chances to avoid what has already been carried out under social-realist direction."

The president of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE), Ljupco Georgijevski, criticized attempts to create an impression that "the entire Yugoslavia is on fire."

"Those who demand blood, death and expulsion, those who call on the army and police and who don war paint, clearly advocate the occurence of another Belgrade in Macedonia," said Mithad Emini, secretary of the Party for Democratic Prosperity.

"We must prevent this, while there us still time," said the official of the party which rallies ethnic Albanians, the majority population in Western Macedonia.

Macedonia's Leadership Announced; Elections Set

LD1503200691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1826 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Skopje, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Professor Nikola Kljesev, who is responsible for the composition of the new Macedonian Government, today announced to President Kiro Gligorov the names of the candidates for his cabinet.

The new Macedonian Government will have three deputy prime ministers, 15 ministers with portfolio, and four ministers without portfolio.

Proposed as deputy prime ministers are: Dr. Blaze Ristovski, an associate member of the Macedonian Academy of Science and Arts, engineer Jovan Andonov, and Dr. Bekir Zuta.

Dr. Risto Damjanovski is proposed as minister for defense; graduate lawyer Jordan Mijalkov as minister for internal affairs; Gjorgji Naumov as minister for the administration of justice; Dr. Denko Malevski as minister for relations with foreign countries; Metodija Tosevski as minister for finance; graduate economist Stojan Trajanovski as minister for economy; Dr. Goce Petreski as minister for development; Dr. Aleksandar Lepavcev as minister for urban planning, construction, communications and ecology; Dr. Ivan Angelov as minister for agriculture, forestry, and water engineering; Dr Ilijaz Sabriu as minister for labor and social policy; Dr. Dimitar Dimitrov as minister for education and physical culture; Dr. Gjorgji Efremov as minister for science; Dr. Cvetan Grozdanov as minister for culture; Dr. Perko Kolevski as minister for health; and Martin Trenevski as minister for information.

The four ministers without portfolio are Dr. Jane Miljovski, engineer Ilija Andonov-Cento, Dr. Ljubomir Frckovski, and Toska Ajdini.

Macedonian Assembly President Stojan Andov has convened an assembly session on 20 March, at which the only item on the agenda will be the election of the government of the Republic of Macedonia.

Montenegro's Bucin Explains Presidency Resignation

LD1603163491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1412 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Kotor, March 16 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav State Presidency from Montenegro Nenad Bucin on Saturday resigned his post.

In his resignation, submitted to the Assembly of Montenegro, Bucin said he could not reconcile with the processes of conscious dismantling of Yugoslavia, of the armed forces and of all the institutions of the Federal state.

In a statement to TANJUG, Bucin emphasized in particular that the "immediate cause for the definitive rift in the Presidency of Yugoslavia was not in the differences concerning the introduction of an emergency state or democratic solutions, but gross inconsistency regarding the realization of stands of the Presidency, itself, on a number of questions."

Bucin illustrated the failure to respect the decisions of the state leadership with several examples—beginning from disarming illegal and para-military formations to doing away with parallel and illegal commands of the territorial defense. According to Bucin's explanation, the three days of discussions in the Yugoslav Presidency, after which he resigned, "were not at all led in the context of the recent events in Belgrade and Serbia, but solely in the context of Yugoslav relations and developments."

Reformists Question Bucin's Conduct

AU1603191891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Representatives of the Montenegrin Branch of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia stress that the events in Belgrade also represent a significant inducement for the advancement of democracy in Montenegro. The reformists hold the view that the opposition, which has more than one third of the deputy seats in the Montenegrin Assembly, will support this.

The leaders of the Montenegrin reformists stress that they will call to account Nenad Bucin, member of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro, because he supported the deployment of tanks in the streets of Belgrade, and that they will also ask the Montenegrin Assembly to publicly apologize to the Serbian people for its attitudes toward the events in Belgrade.

Montenegro's Bulatovic: Settlement Still Possible

LD1603231691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2152 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia's Republic of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic said this evening that despite the resignation of Borisav Jovic as president of the state Presidency, "all the possibilities for a democratic settlement of the Yugoslav crisis have not been exhausted yet." He expresed confidence that Yugoslavia still has "reason and strength enough to resist the plans for its disintegration and silent dying."

In a statement to Belgrade television Bulatovic said he [word indistinct] agreed with the intention of the Yugoslav Presidency member from Montenegro Nenad Bucin to resign.

He said he would inform the Montenegrin legislature about Bucin's resignation—which [word indistinct] it—and would try to contribute personally to the work of legislature following the "actual cessation of work of the Presidency of Yugoslavia."

Bulatovic said he considers the negotiators on the country's future "not to have been up to their task both collectively and individually, and to have thus betrayed those who voted for them."

He added he would "try to continue fighting for united and democratic Yugoslavia."